

VOLUME IX

JUNE, 1931

NUMBER 4

SOCIAL FORCES

A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

THE 1931 NUMBER IN SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK BY MAURICE J. KARFF

THE "SITUATION" AS THE UNIT OF FAMILY CASE STUDY BY ADA B. SHEFFIELD

WITH DISCUSSIONS BY STUART A. RICE, ROBERT M. MACIVER, STUART A. QUEEN, FRANK J. BRUNO

CULTURE CONFLICT AND MISCONDUCT BY LOUIS WIRTH

WITH DISCUSSIONS BY FLOYD H. ALLPORT, T. WINGATE TODD

THE RELATION OF SOCIOLOGY TO SOCIAL WORK BY EARL E. KLEIN

SHIFTING EMPHASES IN CASE WORK BY ERNEST BOULDIN HARPER

THE RELATION OF PRIVATE CASE WORKING AGENCIES TO

PROGRAMS OF PUBLIC WELFARE BY LEAH H. FEDER

SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS AND THE TREND TOWARD SPECIALIZATION BY HELEN HART

THE DISTRICT SERVICE PLAN BY N. BEN NATHAN

PSYCHIATRIC VIEWS ON MALADJUSTMENTS IN MARRIAGE BY GEORGE K. PRATT

PARENTAL DOMINANCE AND PARENT-CHILD CONFLICT BY MEYER F. NISKOFF

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SOCIAL FORCES

CONTENTS FOR JUNE, 1931

CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES

	Page
"GESTALT" AND CASE STUDY:	
I. THE "SITUATION" AS THE UNIT OF FAMILY CASE STUDY Ada E. Sheffield	465
II. UNITS AND THEIR DEFINITION IN SOCIAL SCIENCE Stuart A. Rice	475
III. IS STATISTICAL METHODOLOGY APPLICABLE TO THE STUDY OF THE "SITUATION?"..... Robert M. MacIver	479
IV. SOME PROBLEMS OF THE SITUATIONAL APPROACH Stuart A. Queen	480
V. THE SITUATIONAL APPROACH—A REACTION TO IN- DIVIDUALISM..... Frank J. Bruno	482
CULTURE CONFLICT AND DELINQUENCY:	
I. CULTURE CONFLICT AND MISCONDUCT..... Louis Wirth	484
II. CULTURE CONFLICT VERSUS THE INDIVIDUAL AS FAC- TORS IN DELINQUENCY..... Floyd H. Allport	493
III. CULTURE CONFLICT AND PHYSICAL INADEQUACY AS BASES FOR MISCONDUCT..... T. Wingate Todd	497

DEPARTMENTAL CONTRIBUTIONS

PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK.....	500
The Relation of Sociology to Social Work—Historically Con- sidered, <i>Earl E. Klein</i> ; Shifting Emphases in Case Work: The Sociological Viewpoint, <i>Ernest Bouldin Harper</i> ; The Relation of Private Case Working Agencies to Programs of Public Welfare, <i>Leah H. Feder</i> .	
COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD.....	526
Social Settlements and the Trend toward Specialization, <i>Helen Hart</i> ; The Trend of Settlement Activities toward School Use, <i>Clark Mock</i> ; The District Service Plan: An Experiment in the Democratization of Philanthropy, <i>N. ben Nathan</i> ; Bloomington- Normal: A Study in Community Integration, <i>John A. Kinneman</i> ; The Sociology of City Missions, <i>Samuel Haig Jameson</i> .	
MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY.....	554
Some Psychiatric Views on Maladjustments in Marriage, <i>George K. Pratt</i> ; The Relation of Parental Dominance to Parent-Child Conflict, <i>Meyer F. Nimkoff</i> ; The Chinese Family: An Arena of Conflicting Cultures, <i>Jane I. Newell</i> .	
SOCIAL-INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS.....	572
Technological Unemployment, <i>R. Clyde White</i> ; How the Com- munity is Organized in the Face of Pressing Relief Problems, <i>James P. Kirby</i> .	
LIBRARY AND WORKSHOP.....	585
Book Reviews, <i>Frank H. Hankins</i> , <i>Ernest R. Groves</i> , <i>Wiley B. Sanders</i> , <i>Lee M. Brooks</i> , <i>L. L. and J. S. Bernard</i> , <i>Gladys Hoagland Groves</i> , <i>Gertrude Vaile</i> , <i>Katharine Jocher</i> , <i>Miriam Keeler</i> , <i>Holland Thompson</i> , <i>Clarence Heer</i> , <i>Harry W. Crane</i> , <i>James W. Woodard</i> . New Books Received.	
THE SEARCH AFTER VALUES.....	M. J. Karpf ii

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THE SEARCH AFTER VALUES

THE 1931 NUMBER ON SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

M. J. KARPf

The Training School for Jewish Social Work

THE papers and discussions in this issue which the Committee on Sociology and Social Work¹ again has the privilege of making available to readers of *SOCIAL FORCES* were presented in the meetings of the Section on Sociology and Social Work of the American Sociological Society, in December of 1930.

The meetings revolved about two major subjects, (1) Case Studies and Research; and (2) The Role of Culture in Delinquency.

I. "*Gestalt*" and Research. The first subject is dealt with in the paper by Mrs. Ada E. Sheffield on the "Situation As the Unit for Case Study." In this paper Mrs. Sheffield summarizes a point of view which she has been developing during the past few years relating to Gestalt psychology in its application to case study and social research. This subject will be more fully developed by her in a forthcoming book. Her present paper is an

elaboration of her discussion of a study of successful families presented at the meetings of this Section in 1929.²

It will be clear that Mrs. Sheffield's point of view has far-reaching implications, not only for case work but also for social research. It was deemed desirable, therefore, to explore them from the standpoints of both these fields. The contributions by Professors Rice, MacIver, Queen and Bruno will be found helpful to an examination of the importance of her contribution. Professor Rice deals with the subject from the standpoint of the statistician; Professor MacIver deals with it as a sociologist; Dr. Queen treats it from the standpoint of research on case records; Mr. Bruno deals with it from the viewpoints of the teacher and social worker. It is regretted that a contribution from Professor Ellsworth Faris of the University of Chicago, discussing Mrs. Sheffield's paper as a social psychologist, could not be ready in time for inclusion in this issue.

¹ The Committee consists of: F. J. Bruno, Washington University; F. S. Chapin, University of Minnesota; J. L. Gillin, University of Wisconsin; M. J. Karpf, Training School for Jewish Social Work, Chairman; E. L. Morgan, University of Missouri; Stuart A. Queen, University of Kansas; Syndor Walker, Rockefeller Foundation; Dale Yoder, University of Iowa.

² Chase Going Woodhouse, "A Study of 250 Successful Families," *SOCIAL FORCES*, VIII, June, 1930, p. 511. See also Ada E. Sheffield, "Conditioning Patterns in the Family Circle," *SOCIAL FORCES*, VIII, June, 1930, p. 533.

*Society reports to its stockholders:***SOCIAL CHANGES IN 1930**

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It is hoped that it will be published in a subsequent number of *SOCIAL FORCES*.³

II. *Culture Conflict and Delinquency*. The subject of Dr. Wirth's paper, "Culture Conflict and Misconduct," is one in which he has been interested for many years. The present paper is based on a more extensive study of the subject on the basis of case records some years ago.⁴ This, too, is a fruitful subject and one close to the interests of sociologists and social workers. Those who were present at the meeting in which this paper was presented will recall that the discussions dealt with the subject from various standpoints. Professor Allport of Syracuse University spoke as a psychologist and as a long time opponent of the group concept and all that it implies including the cultural approach to the analysis and treatment of behavior problems. Sociologists and social workers alike should find his paper stimulating, although they will no doubt have a great deal with which to differ. Professor Todd spoke as a physician and physical anthropologist. Two additional papers, one by Professor Edward Sapir, who discussed the subject from the standpoint of a cultural anthropologist, and one by Dr. John Slawson, who dealt with it as a student of delinquency, could not be included in this series. It is hoped that they will be pub-

lished in a subsequent issue of *SOCIAL FORCES*.

The relation between culture conflict and delinquency should prove fruitful for further research and discussion. The writer hopes that those who have been working along these lines will communicate with him with a view toward presenting their studies in future programs of this section.

III. *Miscellanea*.⁵ The other papers in this issue were included because they have a bearing on the interests of the Section on Sociology and Social Work. The article by Earl E. Klein on Sociology and Social Work is a summary of a larger study which he made, dealing with this subject. In this, he carried out in considerable detail and in a painstaking manner an inquiry similar to that outlined in *SOCIAL FORCES* some years ago.⁶ This should be of special interest to those interested in the historical development between sociology and social work. His larger study may be found in the Department of Sociology of Washington University. The other papers and book reviews to be found in this issue carry out the usual organization of the materials in *SOCIAL FORCES* and are in harmony with the general theme of this number dealing with Sociology and Social Work.

³ For a summary of this discussion see "The Fourth Annual Meeting of the Section on Sociology and Social Work," by M. J. Karpf, Publications of the Amer. Soc. Society, XXIV, 1931.

⁴ Louis Wirth. *Culture Conflicts in the Immigrant Family*, Master's Thesis, University of Chicago, 1925.

⁵ For a summary of a session led by Ralph G. Hurlin of the Russell Sage Foundation, on "The Teaching of Social Statistics to Prospective Social Workers," see "Teaching Statistics to Prospective Social Workers," *Proc. of Amer. Stat. Assoc.*, March, 1931, p. 263.

⁶ Sociology and Social Work: A Retrospect, *SOCIAL FORCES*, VI, June, 1928, p. 511.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK AND
ASSOCIATED GROUPS, MINNEAPOLIS, 1931

THE fifty-eighth annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work will be held in Minneapolis, Minnesota, June 14 to 20, 1931. Hotel headquarters will be the Nicollet with Conference headquarters at the Minneapolis Auditorium. Associate and special groups include: American Association of Hospital Social Workers, American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers, American Association of Social Workers, American Association of Visiting Teachers, American Birth Control League, American Red Cross, American Social Hygiene Association, Association of Community Chests and Councils, Association of Schools of Professional Social Work, Big Brother and Big Sister Federation, Child Welfare League of America, Church Conference of Social Work of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Committee on Relations with Social Agencies of the National Association of Legal Aid Organizations, Family Welfare Association of America, Girls Protective Council, Home Economists in Social Work, Inter-City Conference on Illegitimacy, International Association of Police Women, Mothers Aid Group, National Association of Travelers Aid Societies, National Child Labor Committee, National Community Center Association, National Conference of Jewish Social Service, National Federation of Day Nurseries, National Probation Association, National Tuberculosis Association, Social Work Publicity Council, State Conference Secretaries, American Association of Public Welfare Officials, American Foundation for the Blind, Child Welfare Division of the American Legion, Committee on the Handicapped, Minnesota State Conference of Social Work,

National Bureau of Goodwill Industries, National Children's Home and Welfare Association, National Council of Young Men's Christian Association, Norwegian Lutheran Church of America Board of Charities. These groups will have headquarters either in the Hotel Nicollet or in nearby hotels. Frank T. Heffelfinger is chairman of the Minneapolis Committee on Arrangements, and hotel reservations are in charge of Henry Chadbourn, chairman of Hotels and Housing, Hotel Vendome, Minneapolis.

The address by Dr. Richard C. Cabot, President of the Conference, on "The Needs for Tests for the Values of Social Treatment" will mark the formal opening of the Conference on Sunday night, June 14. Other general sessions include "The Costs of Medical Care" by Dr. Michael M. Davis; "Racial Contributions to American Culture," Hastings H. Hart; "The Resources of the Social Worker," Mrs. John M. Glenn. The twelve divisions of the Conference with their chairmen are: "Children," Katharine F. Lenroot; "Delinquents and Corrections," Miriam Van Waters; "Health," Robert W. Kelso; "The Family," Paul L. Benjamin; "Industrial and Economic Problems," Frederic Seidenburg; "Neighborhood and Community Life," Robbins Gilman; "Mental Hygiene," E. Van Norman Emery; "Organization of Social Forces," Raymond Clapp; "Public Officials and Administration," Leroy A. Halbert; "The Immigrant," Marian Schibbsby; "Professional Standards and Education," Joanna C. Colcord; "Educational Publicity," Leon Whipple. There is also a special committee on the American Indian with Lewis Meriam as chairman.

The Conference Bulletin for May carries a complete program of the meetings of the twelve Divisions and the Associate and Special Groups. For all information write

to Howard R. Knight, General Secretary, National Conference of Social Work, 277 East Long Street, Columbus, Ohio.

DISCUSSING SOCIAL PROGRESS

BEGINNING in the next volume of *SOCIAL FORCES* a series of articles featuring the critical discussion of social progress will be inaugurated. Among these will be articles by Hornell

Hart and James H. S. Bossard giving a summary of prevailing concepts and philosophies of progress. Subsequent articles will summarize the literature in the field and discuss more specific aspects.

OTHER SPECIAL ARTICLES

OTHER special features will include studies of the widening application of science and its social effects, and particularly the methods through which the social sciences are being applied to social problems.

Other general articles to appear at an early date include: *The Nature of Social Institutions* by Charles J. Judd; *Some Limitations of the Culture Area Concept* by Malcolm M. Willey; *Influence of Food on Indian Culture* by E. B. Renaud; *Science and Social Science* by Gordon D. Shipman; *Studies in Negro Leadership* by Sanford Winston; *Rural-Urban Heroism in Military Action* by Wilson Gee; *The Determination of the Criminal Threshold*

by Lowell S. Selling; *The Reliability of Two Indexes of Newspaper Behavior* by Hornell Hart; *Keeping up with Culture in Texas and the Southwest* by Joseph M. Dawson; *The Selective Factor in the Presentation of Crime News* by Frank Harris; *Wealth Accumulation by Farmers* by L. F. Garey; *Certain Aspects of Conflict in the Negro Family* by E. Franklin Frazier; *England's Industrial and Reformatory Schools* by Earl D. Myers; *The Nature of Race Consciousness* by W. O. Brown; *Reconciliation of Marital Maladjustment* by Elinor Ryan Hixenbaugh; *Generalization from Limited Social Data* by Frank A. Ross; and others.

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SOCIAL FORCES

June, 1931

"GESTALT" AND CASE STUDY

I

THE "SITUATION" AS THE UNIT OF FAMILY CASE STUDY

ADA E. SHEFFIELD

Cambridge, Massachusetts

I

THE term "situation" as it appears in current discussions of social case work is coming to take on meanings that correspond to the worker's developing grasp of the scope of her measures. In the past her tendency has been to think of the client himself as the objective of her interest and labors, the relieving of his needs and the reestablishing of him as a stable social unit comprising her field of effort. When she has spoken of a "situation," she has used the word in its lay sense as covering vaguely things in the client's own life that are happening at the same time and that have a felt relation with each other. Sometimes, when she speaks of inquiring into, or of handling, a client's situation, she is conceiving all the many factors, current and past, that reveal and explain his present need in its wider bearings, and that show the way to meet it with real effectiveness. Her unit of treatment then becomes a dynamic field of experience, a field in which the individual or the family figures within an aggregate of interactive and interdependent factors of personality

and circumstance. Her thought ceases to be client-centered.

Her trend toward thus envisaging a situation-unit seems to have been impelled by a growing sense of inadequacy in the personality-centered picture of her case. The latter way of viewing it seems, it is true, to be the more obvious way, the way more in accord with our moralized habits in thinking about people and their experiences. When the case, for example, is that of a breadwinner out of a job, our view of it naturally puts him at the focus. He it is (or his wife) whose distress of mind perhaps impels the initial step of approaching the agency. It is *his* children whose food and clothes are running short. We naturally think of *his* rent, *his* employer, the scarcity of *his* sort of work, and if *his* idleness has demoralizing effects on *him*, we have something of a personality-problem to reckon with. Even if we call it a "need situation," we think of it as *his* situation, with *his* needs as dictating our treatment procedures. Natural as this way of thinking is, it is increasingly felt to somewhat warp the picture in ways that over-magnify some factors and under-

register others. It tends to slight the more indirect approaches to conduct-problems, to lose the perspective among the values at stake—some of which are not the less urgent for being only quiescent in the situation.

Nevertheless, when social case work is most intelligent and most thorough, the worker does treat whole situations rather than individuals or even families. Witness a recent report from a leading Child Guidance Clinic in which the writers state that in helping problem children they put much time and thought into furthering adjustments "on the part of brothers and sisters, friends, officials, and other persons occupying positions of influence and authority with respect to the children."¹ When this Clinic spent many hours enlightening a school principal, a teacher, and others as to the nature of a problem-boy's needs and the possibilities for meeting them, what they sought was a reshaping of the situation in which the child was placed; they were making their treatment unit a segment of experience, and not alone a child.

A contrast between the practice of the worker whose processes show her to be treating complex wholes, and the current thinking about those processes appears rather strikingly in another professional report. "Social case work," we read, "deals with *the human being*, whose capacity to organize his own normal social activities may be impaired;" and again: "The ultimate goal [of social case work] is to develop *in the individual* the fullest capacity for self-maintenance in a social group."² The authors, although not of-

fering these statements as a definition, yet seem to cling to a mode of thinking that focuses on individuals, and views their setting as something implicated to be sure with their success or failure, yet outside of and apart from their treatment unit.

Where thought thus lags behind practice, practice is almost sure to be uncertain, over-dependent for its quality on happy gifts of resourcefulness and insight. It has become important, therefore, that we move toward a more precise, possibly even a special meaning for the term "situation"—a meaning that accords with a more developed rationale of control.

First, one may ask how the *content* of a situation whole is to be defined, what fact-items for instance, are to be included in the case of a breadwinner out of a job, and what are irrelevant? For the facts, just as facts, that have bearings on the case, are numberless. Among them, for instance, are the health, abilities, interests, attitudes of the members of the family group concerned; the demand for a certain grade of skill, the seasonal employment in a trade, the rules affecting the man's standing in a labor union, the local employment bureaus, relief agencies, and so on. As the case comes to the attention of the agency, however, the latter assumes the responsibility for modifying or realigning or even changing certain of these many factors so as to reshape a need-situation into one in which the client can maintain a successful ongoing. In this development a number of parties besides the client himself must participate—his employers, his immediate family, possible collateral relatives and friends, the labor union, the church, and so on. In furthering its development, the agency's purpose is a *social*

that practice had developed more rapidly than the contemplation of its significance, or the ability to define it." Social Case Work. A Report of the Milford Conference. p. 4.

¹ Porter Lee and Marian Kenworthy, *Mental Hygiene and Social Work*, p. 111.

² "There was no doubt but that in practice social case workers had become increasingly sure-footed in their use of the concepts, facts and methods which constitute social case work, but it was equally apparent

one, and this inclusive and socially responsible purpose defines the content of the situation. It lights up, within the situation, those factors which can be managed as operative items in a process of controlled change. Many items, *imaginably relevant*, are not actually so *thought* unless they can be seen as figuring in a web of cooperatively directed social process.

In addition to the situation content, we need to make a discrimination as to its *scope*. Here we must differentiate between the "total" situation and the more immediate *functional* situation. By "functional" we mean displaying only those factors which are taken into account as operatively relevant in handling the case. The term delimits the range of interactive items that must enter into a course of planned action.

Behind the closer range of factors thus included in a functional situation lies the cultural and institutional setting of our common life. Various factors within the functional situation of the jobless breadwinner may be conditioned by changes in housing laws, school policies, health education, by the coming of new inventions, by industrial or political ups and downs, race and population shifts, and even international developments. An agency would not ordinarily make use of such remote connections in meeting the needs of the case. Yet if the man were semi-skilled the worker might turn to account any circumstances affecting the demand for his grade of skill in near-by industries. The bounds of the functional situation thus expand and contract as the action advances.

If the content and scope of the situation are defined by a socially responsible purpose, then as that purpose becomes fulfilled or frustrated the given situation moves on into a succeeding and somewhat different one. The situation thus has a time-span. In the case of the unemployed

breadwinner, when the agency's purpose of bringing the course of family affairs to a self-sustaining basis becomes frustrated by the man's ill-health, the first situation within which the operative factors were mainly economic, shifts into a second, within which the problem has become mainly medical. The actual time that is spanned by a functional situation is determined by the fortunes of a purpose. It is long or short according to the working out of a socially-conceived process—a process that may take hours, days, or even years.

A corroboration of this mode of thinking as applied socially may be gathered from psychology. Writing of perception Professor R. M. Ogden says "If time . . . is not the safest guide in the analysis of experience, then the conception of a circuit in which a want is satisfied is perhaps a truer description of adjustment."³ Professor Ogden is discussing the content of what we see or hear, what a sense-organ gives us as a unit of experience. Taken in this detached way, however, his statement would appropriately apply to situation-process as a unit of thinking in social case work. This marking off of integrative groupings of factors out of the continuum of a client's living, then, is for purposes of thinking, and must justify itself by the quality of thought it sets going. "The criterion of a good descriptive concept," says Koffka,—"*is just this, that new facts and their functions are revealed by it.*"⁴

A further distinction in "situation-thinking" seems called for in case work. The factors that enter into the client's functional situation fall largely under such categories as health, income, living conditions, occupation, schooling, recreation, family relationships. A moment's thought will show that each of these aspects is

³ R. M. Ogden, *Psychology and Education*, p. 124.

⁴ Kurt Koffka, *The Growth of the Mind*, p. 18.

itself a constellated unit made up of specially related fact-items, a *sub-situation*, defined in content by their tractability to a sub-purpose. For instance, our unemployed breadwinner is suffering from serious ill-health and has a wife and three small children. The functional situation might be phrased as that of a family with a *run-down breadwinner and no income*, the agency's purpose being to reinstate the family as a self-maintaining group. The sub-situations may appear as follows: Its *depleted health aspect* includes for the man poor teeth and eyes, a question of tuberculosis, a history of under-vitality going back many years, intemperance resorted to for relief from physical discomfort; and for the children under-nourishment. Its *under-employment aspect* includes the man's irregular work due both to ill-health and to drinking, and the wife's plan to board the children and find a job herself. Its *family-relations aspect* includes the man's dependent attitude toward his mother who has always shielded and indulged him, and toward his wife who has a maternal attitude toward him, and who unites in herself father and mother rôles in the family; also the wife's more dutiful than affectionate attitude toward the children. Its *unsanitary home conditions aspect* includes the facts that the tenement the family occupy has one dark room, is dirty and untidy, that the wife appears too resigned to bad surroundings to try to better them, and that the man can escape to his mother's home at any time. These sub-situations correspond to what the Milford report calls "proximate goals." They are the case worker's immediate points of attack, looked at one by one. They envisage separate needs and point to the next steps to be taken in meeting them. The functional situation, as a complex whole, is made tractable to treatment by concerted advances toward these "proximate goals."

Sub-situations, then, are inter-knit. The man's poor health interferes with work; his unemployment makes for under-nourishment; his resulting inadequacy encourages his own attitude of dependence and the indulgence of the two women; their indulgence leaves the son and husband minus a spur to work, while the situation as a whole evidently discourages any house-keeping ambitions in the wife. These inter-connections among the sub-situations illustrate the fact that the functional situation is not a mere sum of factors, but is a whole composed of causally interactive parts.

Where such is the case a change at any point makes a change in the whole functional field. For instance, it is hardly necessary to point out the complete turn-about of agency purpose that would take place if the man in the above illustration improved in health or if his wife gave up her plan to go to work. As a matter of fact these actually were two changes which the agency brought about, the second of them having more effect upon the situation than the first, because the man's improvement in health was but slight. It is in the way that a change in one sub-situation realigns the whole that the case worker opens up new insights and resources. The wife's decision to keep a home going meant that the agency's purpose, instead of being that of placing out three under-nourished children, became that of securing an income till the husband could be got into working condition. That one change in the woman's plan—brought about by the agency's persuasion—changed the functional situation by changing the family's need and the treatment purpose. The next step the agency took was to secure an income through relief sources. Apparently this change made the situation look more hopeful to the wife, for she shortly agreed to move to a better tene-

ment. The change to liveable surroundings stirred her ambition, so that whereas her home had been neglected, her rooms were now kept clean, and she developed an unsuspected knack for making a house cosy and attractive at slight expense. This certainly has brought the functional situation to a new posture of affairs. In the course of its "circuit" it has shown sub-situations as work-units, changes within which have moved the whole toward a partial fulfillment of the agency's purpose.

II

In the foregoing illustration the phrase *family with a run-down breadwinner and no income* is used to characterize the situation as a whole. The factors of ill-health and the lack of income stand out as being constantly interactive and as having a major influence on the development of this family's affairs. The same type of situation will appear in many a family that comes to the attention of case work agencies. In other words, there is a similarity between this family situation and others. While it is true that no case, looked at in all its detail, would ever be duplicated, yet the experienced worker will note in the case that comes before her today certain basic inter-related factors that bear an important resemblance to those in some family she dealt with a week or a month ago. Within the complex situation-unit she finds certain factors taking on a major significance as more closely and persistently interactive than others, and recurrent as such in other situations. Such recurrent or type-identifying factors come definitely configured in *situation-patterns*.

The importance of identifying such basic patterns is that it would help us in following the social process as a complicated case develops, and also that it would assist us in recognizing *type* likenesses be-

tween situations that occur at diverse times and places.

By way of illustrating this basic patterning of the situation and what we may expect from identifying it, let us consider three cases from family life.

The first is that of a Polish family, in which the husband and father, though fairly skilled and steady as a worker, kept his wife and children on the smallest of budgets. He would bring home especially good food which he required his wife to cook for himself alone, while she and the children were having hardly enough to satisfy hunger; he kept one room in their tenement cosily fitted up where he could spend the evening, across the threshold of which neither mother nor children should venture without permission. The rest of the home was uncomfortable and cheerless, containing only the barest necessities for living. The children were occasioning the mother anxiety, both as to their health and their behavior, the oldest boy already showing a desire to stay away from home, and taking an arrogant attitude toward his sisters. This family was kept in outward subjection through fear of the man's ungoverned temper. They had no affection for him.

All these factors of attitude and circumstance come to focus around three points: (1) the man-centered organization of the family program; (2) a husband and father's preoccupation with his personal comfort under the home roof; (3) a growing sense of neglect among the subordinated home partners. The pattern subtended between these three points we may designate as that of *home as a cushioned retreat for the man*.

The second family are of Yankee extraction. The man being presentable and having good abilities and education, gets positions readily and often with an excellent salary. When in cash he provides himself with finely tailored clothes, a

modish car, joins a club, and so on. He is a gambler and once used money that belonged to his firm. He loses his position through irresponsibility, leaves town with debts, and having reached the bottom has to start over again. The wife then goes to work. Even when in funds he has made her so meagre an allowance that only by the most capable management, making over and going without clothes, pinching at every turn, have she and the child kept along at all. He tells this intelligent homemaker nothing of his affairs, consults her about none of their roving from city to city. Being amiable, however, he has retained the affection of a woman who has aimed to help him, but who, after eight years of patient acceptance of her lot, has reached a point where she feels she must take some step to better conditions for herself and five-year-old child. The husband likes to figure as a man-about-town. At the same time, he keeps his home going, and right along has taken his wife and child with him on all his wanderings. Evidently he gets satisfaction from his wife's capable management, from the cheerful home arrangements, and from the sense of security this gives him.

In this family, too, though of different race, background, education, and manners from the previous one, we have again the basic pattern. The family program is man-centered; the man has resources for outside pleasures, but he counts on home both for comfort and for refuge—"Home is the place where, when you have to go there, they have to take you in." Finally, the other partners have developed attitudes of self-defense and strain.

For the third family situation we may turn to the recently published diary of Cosima Wagner. She and her husband being exceptionally endowed persons with a public status, their relationship is the

more complex. Richard Wagner's home life was shielded at every turn by his wife's loving care. Worshipping his genius, Cosima adapted herself and her household to his wishes and whims without question, upheld his confidence in himself with unswerving faith and admiration, and bore with patience a high-strung irritability which his affection could not control. But this is only part of the story. Cosima did much more than pad her husband's home-life. As Liszt's daughter she brought a trained musical intelligence into the conversations of the Wagner family circle. Their relations increasingly brought her own powers into full play, so that her dealings with her husband approached that of partnership.

This family and the two preceding ones may seem to belong to different worlds. The Wagners' gifts, their cultivation, their milieu of artists, their creative purpose which they held against obstacles and discouragements, their brilliant achievement, all seem to remove their experiences from those of the humble folk that seek aid from case work agencies. Nevertheless, in the family life of these distinguished persons we find the same situation-pattern: —that of *home as a cushioned retreat for the man*.

A recognition of this pattern helps one to see that in all of these instances the woman's attitude, quite as much as the man's, goes to the making of the home problem that results. These complementary attitudes are group-sanctioned, with their roots partly in sex difference and partly in the division of labor by which the man supports the family through work outside, while the woman does her share within the home. These conditioning factors of course figure in the special pattern we have identified. The home life of the breadwinner becomes man-centered in order to conserve his strength for a

work-life that is job-centered; his personal comfort takes on an institutional claim; and his partners develop attitudes of self-defense against the general subordination of their needs to his wishes. The constancy of the pattern thus displayed invites attention to the points at which differences of circumstance and response make for diverse developments.

The Polish home was a cushioned retreat for the man's physical needs and those alone. There was here little promise of happy developments between the two adults and four children. The wife too much feared her husband's temper to get on terms such that they could talk out their joint problems, and he apparently felt no need for it. Instead, the family experience had become a mere repetition of the same sort of incident, piling up suppressed resentments on one side and feeding raw egoism on the other. The man seemed likely to go on taking as nearly all as he could for himself, and the woman and children to acquiesce through fear—a stalled situation. When the wife finally mustered initiative to face and deal with the problem, her solution was to secure a separation with maintenance. Her treatment purpose, as you might call it, was that of escape from a situation beyond her control.

In the second instance home afforded the man the same physical comforts he allowed his wife and child, with in addition a loyal and patient affection, and an efficient backer whenever he reached the end of his rope. Here seemed to be more promise of constancy in the family relations. The wife, stimulated by a social worker, came to recognize that she had perhaps failed in being too forgiving, too patient, and that a franker and firmer attitude toward her husband might have helped him more. Encouraged by talking with an understanding person, she gave up

what had been her purpose of leaving him, of escaping from her problem, and undertook to get on frank terms with him. The husband and wife discussed their joint problems from the point of view of the mother and child as well as of the man, and the woman showed him what would happen if his irresponsibility as breadwinner continued. Granting that this man's relations outside the home probably also needed reshaping, nevertheless a step was taken toward changing a stalled situation into one that might develop. For the first time these two people had united in defining the situation before them as one to be jointly solved.

In the case of Richard Wagner, home afforded physical comforts, and, of even greater importance, the peace and reassurance craved by an artist long unappreciated, and the devoted and self-effacing partnership of a gifted woman. Here is a situation satisfying in some respects and not in others. Where it afforded a true partnership, with Cosima utilizing her abilities and insights, the relationships which it framed between these two people and their setting were progressive, moving from one level of mutual stimulus to another. Where Cosima suppressed justly wounded feelings, confiding them to her diary because she could not let her husband see the pain his hypersensitiveness had caused her, the relationship became one of unshared points of view, a relation partaking of that between mother and child, in other words, over-maternal. Whether it could have been made less so without sacrificing something of the creative energies of a genius does not alter the quality of the relationship that resulted.

The identifying of a pattern that is relatively constant helps us to bring order into our thinking about the variables which appear. It should clarify causative relations, should help us to follow social

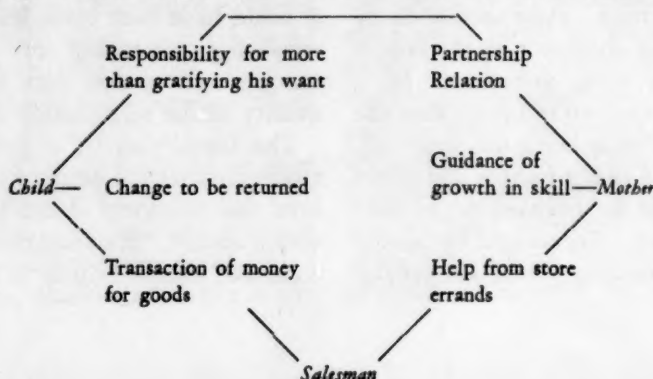
process, and to raise significant questions. Even the three cases here mentioned are enough to make us ask what are the conditions under which this group-sanctioned value, *home as a cushioned retreat for the man*, gets realized with happiness and growth for all concerned, and what the conditions under which it gets realized only through a thwarting of other family values? The answer could be sought through a study of other situations defined by the same dynamic pattern.

III

Within the situation the social process as served by the worker is usually one of successful or unsuccessful maturing in the formative relations between the client, the circumstances, and other people involved. To mental hygienists the conception of maturing is apt to be that of growth within the individual, a growth in adequacy of response, untrammelled by egoistic impulsiveness, emotional thwarts, and limited awareness of what is involved. To social workers it must be that of such growth as taking place in the relations between two or more persons and their setting, a mutual process. It may be said to take place in social relations when each of those concerned contributes his special sensitivity and point of view to the adequate defining and handling of a joint situation in such a way that all parties to it achieve responses within its pattern that are more sensitively adequate, integrated, and outreaching toward emergent values.

Let us illustrate this by discussing a mother and a child's progress in relations that involved the use of money. The essential patterning might be termed that of *child apprenticeship in home economics*.

First we have the mother sending her little four-year-old with five cents to buy an ice-cream cone. Each time as he reaches up his coin to the salesman he dutifully asks, "Is there any change?" Six years later she is sending him to the market for peas. This time he exercises a choice and brings home beans, because the salesman said that the latter, which were cheaper, were very fresh. The advance between mother, child, and salesman is from a situation which the mother defines for the child and the child simply accepts, to one where the child finds and brings in relevant facts—about the peas and the beans—of which the mother had not known, and the salesman treats him as an agent exercising discretion. Even the first situation, however, exhibited a simple patterning of factors—coin, street-dangers, drug-store, salesman, cone, changing of money—shaped by the mother's desire that the child have the sweets he wants, and that he come to know the meaning and responsible use of money. The child was acquiring in common with his mother a set of experiences outside the home, against which and in relation with which to see and evaluate the more intimate experiences within the home. The following diagram may make clearer the values enmeshed in this situational pattern:



At the second stage the boy, in departing from his mother's orders, gave evidence that they had moved further in their money relations. He related the price of commodities to his mother's budget; his responsible choice, and his purposive talk with the salesman displayed a grasp of the relation between store, salesman, prices, home needs, and parents. Here was not only an expanding background of shared experience but a contribution to the defining of a money situation by getting and using new knowledge.

At fifteen this boy is trusted with the planning and developing of some definite part of the home economic activity—raising vegetables as a contribution to the family budget. Under advice, he gets from the library books or perhaps government pamphlets on soils, drainage, exposure, and discusses with a nurseryman the price and quality of seeds, tools, fertilizers. He then goes over his plans with his parents. In addition to the gardening information he has gleaned, he knows the demands of his school work and feels the sacrifices involved in foregoing High School pastimes. The parents, on the other hand, appreciate more fully than the boy what a waste of the money put into materials will mean to their budget should the garden fail through neglect; and may, because of their knowledge of the folk-ways of their community, be alive to dangers of overstressed play activities by young people in their teens. Parents and son, then, equally contribute to a grasp of the various factors bearing on the plan—of the situation, in short, bringing social pleasures and garden needs into such relations that the values involved are reconciled and the boy gets adequate companionship while the family garden thrives.

The mutual maturing framed within these relationships takes from their pat-

terning certain elements that make for its continuance. It sustains the joint thinking by which the group finds ways of meeting the conflicting claims of pleasure and earning, with the older people gaining in sensitivity to what youth feels, and the boy in awareness of what home comfort costs. The elders do not merely "get the boy's point of view," nor merely acquire ideas about the conditions under which friends are made at school. Nor does the boy merely take over parental ideas as to sociabilities. The change, in short, is not merely quantitative; the very quality of their attitudes is continually modified. Their desire to have the boy socially "in the swim" becomes infused with a growing perception all round that their status feelings may find more valid grounds than the prejudices and conventions of his High School set. The further maturing of the attitudes thus enwebbed within this "apprenticeship patterning" of the home economic interests involves the home group in responses to outside persons and agencies—to agriculturists, distributors, technical journals—until it establishes the boy's "money-activities" as a part of the on-going production and exchange of the economic world.

In the three phases of this example a worker whose view was personality-centered would have attended only to the maturing of the boy. Naturally the boy, starting as a four-year-old, had the farthest to go in achieving full effectiveness in his responses. His rate of change was rapid and dramatic. Yet the maturing process was none the less a group process. It involved the sensitizing all round of parents, boy, salesman, friends, to values implicit in this pattern of relationships and experience. All gained by the special sensitivity and point of view of each—their responses growing more discriminating, appropriate, and sure as their attitudes be-

came integratively adjusted to the growing demands of the situation. The marked changes in the boy's growth simply forms what Professor Child would call a distinctive *gradient*⁵ in this type of situation pattern.

IV

If, now, we are bidding the case-worker attend to the situation and not the person as her functional unit, does this mean that we shall lose interest in thinking about the individual? Not at all. It does mean that we shall display less interest in individual "character"—viewed as an aggregate of traits or behavior tendencies: plain-spoken, evasive, tempersome, steady-working, etc. Such an interest was natural enough in an older and more static social order where the individual moved through a limited repertoire of situations, so that his responses by repetition stood for what was essentially *him*. Today, however, what with economic and technological changes, the social scene is in flux. New situations, with shifts of relationship and emergent values, call for redefining and prompt adjustments. Viewing our client, therefore, we shall be interested indeed in the quality and fluidity of his specific responses to specific situations. Where new and dynamic developments find him prepared with infantile dispositions and stock reactions the situation stalls, and all parties to it suffer thwart. Our concern with the individual is to see him full-summed in his powers of adequate and appropriate response.

To sum up: 1. The unit of directive effort in social case work is the "need situation," a segment of interactive experience involving clients in complex relationships with their physical and social setting.

2. Its content and scope are defined by

⁵ C. M. Child, "The Individual and Environment from a Physiological Viewpoint." From Kimball Young's *Source Book for Social Psychology*, p. 197.

a socially conceived purpose, with which the situation moves through a circuit of change to fulfilment or frustration.

3. The situation comprises a functional set of operative factors—both of attitude and of circumstance—which invite the agency's directive concern. Beyond this "functional situation" is of course an underlying or environing zone of *conditioning* factors, which form the given "cultural situation."

4. The functional situation divides as it moves into "sub-situations" offering the "handles" with which to lay hold on its problem. Since a change in any one factor affects the dynamics of the whole, the progressive adjustments in subsituations induce a measure of self-stabilizing in good results as they appear.

5. The factors of a functional situation which are most closely and persistently interactive and recur as such are definitely configured into relational patterns observable both from phase to phase of one case and as type patterns from case to case.

6. Desired changes within the formative relationships defined by the pattern often mean a maturing of attitude and response with respect to the factors, both constant and variable, that come into play. Maturing takes place when each party contributes his special sensitivity and point of view to the adequate envisaging and handling of a shared situation, in such wise that all parties to it achieve responses that are more sensitively adequate, integrated, and outreaching towards emergent values.

7. The situation-view of case work makes our interest in the individual client put a lessened stress upon his "character" as an aggregate of traits or behavior trends.⁶ Our concern is with his powers of adequate and appropriate response to the shifting demands of specific situations.

⁶ This does not mean that where personality handicaps are making themselves felt within the situation the case worker will not concern herself with the restoring of a person's inner mobility and balance.

II

UNITS AND THEIR DEFINITION IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

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MRS. SHEFFIELD'S precise and clarifying paper has been written from the standpoint of social case work. That is, the *purpose* implicit in the activity to which it relates is that of human adjustment. The ultimate goal is to be expressed in terms of human happiness or social welfare. In discussing the paper, I wish, so far as possible, to disregard these telic aspects and to consider the implications of her thesis for social science as science, divorced from a desire to serve the individual or social needs of human beings. This distinction between "social work" and "social science" is drawn in the firm belief that it makes for clarity of thought, and hence for a surer development of *both*. Mrs. Sheffield indicates that their practice, outrunning theory, is compelling social case workers to reformulate the theoretical premises upon which their activities are based. But she also raises issues at the very foundation of social science—questions as to the possibility of social science.

Science is dependent upon the conceptual repetition or recurrence of identities in a process of continuous change among the parts of a functional whole. But no part of this whole can in reality stand alone, in complete independence of the remainder; nor can it change without affecting, in however small degree, every other part. Because human senses are relatively crude, even when aided with instruments of precision, we are usually unaware of the continuing and distant effects of what seem to be unitary events. Should a gentleman, or lady, in this audience, light a cigarette, the ignition seems

to common sense to be an isolated physical and chemical occurrence. When the physicist devises an instrument so delicate that it will record at a distance of several miles the heat of the match, we are reduced to awe at the perfection of natural science. Our minds even then realize with difficulty that the effects of this simple event do not actually stop (if our physical concepts are correct) short of the most distant star.

How, then, is the physicist able to treat the ignition of the match as if it were an isolated unitary occurrence? Only by a process of abstraction, by neglect of the more distant functional interrelations of the event, in which the assumptions contained in the words "as if" have an important part. The over-hasty generalization to be drawn is that no event, or unit of whatever kind, is completely isolated.

Assumptions having much the same purport are involved in the so-called "repetition" of events. The Hollenden Hotel has kindly provided me with a book of paper matches, with one of which I shall light my pipe as soon as the folkways of the occasion permit. There are twenty matches in the pack, with each of which the event of ignition may be "repeated." But what warrant have I for this assertion?

My speech implies that the *same* event will be repeated twenty times. In actuality there will be twenty *similar* but different events, and the similarity will be rough and relative. No two matches are precisely alike, as even the crude observation made possible by a reading glass will disclose. The process of ignition will differ in each instance: in the time and friction required, in the amount of heat and

light generated, in the conditions of the atmosphere in which it occurs, in the effects upon surrounding objects, and so on.

A second hasty generalization, then, is that no event, or unit of whatever kind, is ever repeated. Science must generalize from similar but different appearances, which it chooses to regard *as if* they were "repetitions" of the same event. The units with which science must work are *conceptual* units, artificially segregated by the human mind from the continuum of reality, and treated *as if*, in a given instance of scientific analysis, they were identical.

It follows from these considerations that science cannot provide a complete description of the real world. Even apart from the limitations imposed by the frailty of human sense organs, its formulations will be relative and not absolute. The test of its relative degree of success in its task of describing relationship and change, appears to be found in its utility for prediction. If generalizations drawn from particulars describe processes in the real world with sufficient fidelity, a measure of successful prediction concerning future events in which similar particulars are involved is possible. The scientific character of the procedure is then validated. Moreover, the ability to predict implies the ability to control, at least if by the word "control" we imply an adaptation by the person making the prediction. The generalization may have been based upon *experiment*, or it may have been based upon that substitute for experiment in a field of uncontrolled variables known as *statistics*.

Let us return to Mrs. Sheffield's paper: The social worker, it is pointed out, has enlarged the conceptual unit involved in her task from the individual client to the "situation," a "dynamic field of experience." She has made this enlargement,

in part, because of an enlarging purpose, or concept of the goal to be achieved, made possible to no small degree by newer psychological viewpoints. The enlargement of the unit is taking place, further, because of a growing appreciation of the functional inter-relationships between the individual client and other elements in the situation. The whole functional situation must be encompassed in the task.

On surface this seems to impose a revolutionary change in the method of scientific analysis which may accompany the telic activities of the social worker. When individual clients were the units in the analysis, the applicability of statistical methods was obvious. The data seemed atomistic and additive. They could often be treated as simple attributes or variables. Among 100 clients, so-many were unemployed and so-many suffered from illness. One could find a coefficient of contingency between pyorrhea and halitosis, or a coefficient of correlation between intelligence and income. But when the *situation* becomes the unit, we seem to enter a domain where other, possibly new, scientific methods are required. "Situations" can no longer be classified and summated in the easy manner with which Anna and Josie and Tom may be tried by a jury of classificatory criteria and committed to a given section of a statistical table. The attention seems to shift from problems of classification, summation and correlation to problems of functional interrelationship among the parts of a whole—of subaspects to subsituations and of subsituations to total functional situations, and so on. Case method appears to have replaced statistical method to such an extent that even the possibility of the latter in this field of inquiry is sometimes denied.

Nor is it merely with respect to social case work that the issue seems drawn. The whole of social life is enmeshed in

"situations" of greater or lesser scope and greater or lesser complexity of functionally interrelated aspects. There is no department of social science which can escape from the dilemma that a recognition of "configuration," "*gestalt*" and "functional situation" seems to impose.

It is my contention that this dilemma is more apparent than real. It *seems* to call for a new type of method, or a substitution of one type of method for another. It *actually* represents a deflection of attention by the social scientist from one phase of method, and that a later phase, to another and earlier phase, now seen to have been inadequately developed. The first phase of scientific method is to define the field and units of one's discourse. At the outset of any science, the process of definition is inevitably naïve and inadequate. The division of the physical universe into the elements earth, air, fire, and water no longer serves the needs of physical science, although it is an obvious, naïve demarcation in experience. It is no longer possible to account adequately for human behavior by the classification of persons into sane and insane, infant and adult, good and bad, saved and unregenerate. These earlier units have for some time been under review and new units are emerging. The individual human being is another obvious but naïve unit of experience. For many, if not most, purposes in social life it is a sufficient unit. But as the scientific analysis of social life becomes increasingly realistic and refined, the individual as a discrete entity or unit ceases to be adequate. This, Mrs. Sheffield has engagingly demonstrated. That an incipient social science should have naïvely accepted the individual as an all-sufficient unit of social analyses was inevitable. That a period of redefinition is upon us suggests that social science is again showing similarities in its

development to the older sciences that have preceded it.

The contention just set forth is suggested by Mrs. Sheffield when she notes that basic situation patterns tend to recur and be identified in the social worker's experience. If similarities did not appear, how would it be possible to apply in a new situation the skill acquired by experience in dealing with a preceding situation? Not only science, but the practical ability of normal individuals to adjust within a social environment is dependent upon the "recurrence" of new yet similar units of experience.

Case method (as distinct from case work) may be regarded as a means of identifying or defining units of experience. If the problem is one of counting the apples in a basket, the units and the process of identifying them are comparatively simple. Identification, in fact, may be overlooked as a necessary first step in the total procedure. The problem seems to be wholly one of statistical enumeration. If the problem is one of discovering the causes of economic distress among farm-owners, the units are more complex and the methodological stage of identification is more apparent. What is a farm? Is a particular two acre tract in the suburbs, growing roses and beans, and tilled by a house painter in his jobless hours, a farm or not a farm? Case study is necessary to determine whether or not the criteria of the study comprehend the functional situation that is encountered. When the problem is to determine the importance of the factor *home as a cushioned retreat for the man* in the sum total of social adjustment, the case study aspect of the total procedure looms large. It tends to obscure the fact that there are, or may be, still further methodological procedures beyond the case study stage. The social worker tends to see the

readjustment or the frustration resulting from the case study and case work as the end of the process, because her effort and responsibility are limited to the particular individual situation before her. Yet both as social scientist and as skilled technician there is a further stage, that of generalization from particulars. The character of the generalization is almost certain to be statistical, but in form this statistical character may be wholly implicit and unperceived. Universal use is made of what has been called "informal statistical method." After encountering a few situations of *home as a cushioned retreat for the man*, the worker may identify another situation as another case of the same kind. She will have classified it in a statistical category, and her prognosis will depend upon the experience gained, in dealing with the preceding cases. In other words she will have gained control by means of her power to predict, based upon generalization from particulars—the criterion, as we have seen, of science. That she does not recognize the essential scientific and statistical character of her experience and her method does not alter its nature.

Case method and statistical method are both of wider scope than is generally realized. Both are stages in a methodological sequence, the whole of which is essential to science. Now one and now the other may receive the center of attention. A period of changing conceptual units of inquiry, such as that which Mrs.

Sheffield has brought to our attention, is certain to place case method temporarily to the fore.

The preceding suggestions have dealt in somewhat abstract terms with the implications of Mrs. Sheffield's paper for social science. The implications for specific research are similar. When a conceptual reformulation of units is taking place, research looking toward the identification of particular types of units will be in order. This research will necessarily involve the intensive study of individual situations. For example, it is perhaps necessary to identify and distinguish a situation of *home as a cushioned retreat for the man* from the situation *home as a cushioned retreat for the woman*. That is, the essential characteristics of each type of situation must be discovered, and the scientific procedure involved is primarily that of case study. Relevant statistical materials may aid in the task of definition, even at this stage. At a later stage the major task may again become statistical. Statistical and case methods are intertwined at every stage of the total procedure, but so far as one or the other may characterize the procedure, as representing the focus of methodological attention, they tend to alternate indefinitely. Case method and statistical method, far from being opposed, are necessary and complementary to each other in a scientific process which itself partakes of the nature of a functionally interrelated whole.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RURAL GOVERNMENT

Rural Government will be the topic of the Fourteenth Annual American Country Life Conference to be held at Cornell University, August 17-20, 1931, under the presidency of Dr. Liberty Hyde Bailey. The Conference will include forums on County Organization and Management; Village and Township Government; Taxation; Public Education; Health and Social Welfare; and Rural Planning (Land Utilization, Reforestation, Electrification and Roads), as phases of rural government. National leaders in the study and improvement of rural government will be among the speakers. Announcements may be had from Dr. Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., or Dr. B. Y. Landis, Secretary, American Country Life Association, 105 East 22nd St., New York City.

III

IS STATISTICAL METHODOLOGY APPLICABLE TO THE STUDY OF THE "SITUATION?"

ROBERT M. MACIVER

Columbia University

I CAN best express my views on Mrs. Sheffield's paper by relating it to the comments made by Professor Rice. There is, I feel, a certain opposition between the scientific viewpoint of Professor Rice and that set forth by Mrs. Sheffield. Professor Rice contended that for scientific treatment, it is necessary to divide a situation into its units, since it is these units, and they alone, that are capable of statistical and other scientific manipulation. The difficulty I find in this viewpoint is that social situations are not really divisible into units. Suppose we were making a sociological study of a meeting such as the present one. It is a complex object of study but what are its units? Of course in various contexts, each of us here present is a unit. We are units for the purposes of the United States Census, or for the hotel management, but we are not units for the study of the phenomenon called a "discussion meeting." If we were all in separate rooms there would be no meeting. In other words, the meeting is a system of relationships and a relationship has terms but not units.

Professor Rice's analogy of the carton of matches, each of which can be detached as a unit, does not apply and I feel generally that physical analogies mislead us on this point. The match exists as a perceptual unit when we detach it from its setting, but a relationship has no meaning when its terms are not related. A relationship exists conceptually, not perceptually.

What we have within a relationship, or within a situation, are *aspects*, not *units*. Moreover, every situation is part of a

larger situation, part of a wider system of relationships. Sometimes the aspects revealed inside the situation may be those which are most important either for a study of it or for the practical control of it. To take Mrs. Sheffield's examples, in the case of the old curmudgeon who made "the home a cushioned retreat for the man" *alone*, whose motto was "all for one" but not "one for all," no doubt the practical problem lies within that individual family situation but in a case where unemployment enters, the problem broadens out into a situation that is as wide as, and even wider than, the nation itself. Here the situation of the individual family is an incomplete situation.

This brings me to another point. If we are studying unemployment, we cannot divide it into units. We can, of course, produce samples of the unemployed, but these are not samples of unemployment. What, then, are the units of unemployment? If we follow out this argument, I think we see the necessity for Mrs. Sheffield's postulate, that we deal with the situation and not with the individual, for certain purposes at least.

It is not enough to identify situations, making the situation itself a unit. We want also as sociologists to study it as a system. I do not feel certain that even Mrs. Sheffield's identifications of various situations under the rubric "the home as a cushioned retreat for the man" are adequate but I do feel that she does a real service in calling attention to the need for studying the situation and dealing with it as a unity.

IV

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE SITUATIONAL APPROACH

STUART A. QUEEN

Detroit Community Union

IT IS interesting to note the changing emphases in the study of people, especially of people in trouble. Until rather recently it was customary to select a single element, or factor, or aspect of a problem, and concentrate on that. For example, this winter most people are discussing unemployment as a distinct and isolated entity. At other times stress has been laid on alcoholism, glandular dysfunction, or feeble-mindedness. Only a few months ago one of the largest family case working agencies in the country published an analysis of its work in terms of isolated "causes of distress." This very season a mayor's relief committee undertook to classify its clients as needing "shoes only," groceries, legal aid, or medical attention. However necessary such devices may be in an emergency, they, of course, do not represent "family case studies."

During the past fifteen years another kind of emphasis has been developing in the study of people and especially of people in trouble. Here the spot light has been thrown on personality. Now the definitions of personality are legion, but they all involve focussing attention on the individual human being. The dominance of this point of view among social case workers is obvious to anyone who has attended their meetings or read their publications. But it is a bit surprising to find it prevailing even among group workers. Thus Miss Williamson says in introducing her job analysis: "Group work concerns itself with services toward individuals in a group, brought together through a common interest, and guided by means of

suitable and congenial activities toward a well-rounded life for the individual; and, for the group, a cooperative spirit and acceptance of social responsibility." Even here emphasis is on the individual more than on the group or the social situation. In her recent book Miss Robinson seems to regard this psychiatric viewpoint, if such it be, as a step away from and beyond a sociological approach. A more tenable position would appear to be that psychiatry has tended to supplant atomistic interpretations with organic, and static with dynamic, but instead of displacing sociological analysis it is paving the way for genuine studies of interaction, inter-relations and social situations. By this is not meant that sociology is superior to psychiatry, but that it is different from psychiatry, and that for the most part sociological case studies belong to the future. Hence Mrs. Sheffield's paper is to be welcomed as a contribution to their development.

In a paper presented to this Society last year I set forth some of the thinking of one group whereby its emphasis was shifted from problems to personal traits, and from personal traits to social situations. A brief review of this group's experience may make plainer some of the inducements and some of the obstacles to the situational approach.

The first shift from problems to personal traits was easy. It was quite apparent that unemployment, for example, is one thing when experienced by a stable, thrifty, skilled artisan, and quite another when it occurs in the life of an unskilled, migratory ne'er-do-well. But after a time it

was also apparent that the differences are not merely those of personal traits, but are functions of larger, more complex wholes in which the interaction of personalities and the play of impersonal forces are of great significance. Thus the meaning of unemployment varies not only with the character, intelligence, and age of the individual workman, but with the trends of changing machinery, business organization, domestic demand, and foreign markets. It also varies with the give-and-take between workmen and employers at the time of lay-off or discharge, between workmen and prospective employers at the time of application for new jobs, between the unemployed and their families, their friends, social workers, reformers, and all the rest.

But on this basis a "situation" may become so complex as to be quite unmanageable by either social worker or sociologist. Hence we were brought to the problems of content and scope. Our conclusions were that for purposes of sociological analysis a situation consists in relationships between persons viewed as a cross section of human experience, constantly changing in kaleidoscopic fashion, and affected both by material conditions and by relationships to other persons. Thus we made of the concept "situation" an intellectual tool similar to the anthropologists' concept "culture complex," in

that both are quite flexible as to content, both are capable of subdivision, both are something more than the sum of discrete elements, both convey the idea of relationships, both present nuclei about which configurations gather, and both are constantly changing.

This reasoning seemed to us to clarify, but not to eliminate the difficult problem of how to define social situations so they can be identified by other students and so they can be classified as types. This is partly a problem of terminology, but still more a problem of procedure. How shall we determine what is really the nucleus or dominant feature of a situation? How shall we even identify those elusive activities which we call relationships or interaction? Where shall we draw the line between "immediate social situations" and "cultural situations?" In other words, how can anything as complex as a "situation" be made manageable for purposes of research?

Needless to say, the raising of these questions is in no sense an attempt to discredit the "situational approach;" it is rather an effort to outline the responsibilities which must be assumed by those who would follow in Mrs. Sheffield's footsteps. Personally I hope that an increasing number of competent students will experiment with "situations as the units of family case studies."

MEETINGS OF THE NEW YORK CITY SOCIOLOGISTS 1931-32

During 1931-32 the Sociologists of New York City will meet the second Saturday of each month beginning October 10, 1931 at one o'clock at the Town Hall Club, 123 West 43rd Street.

The Sociologists are a small informal group who meet for purposes of friendly discussion usually led by one of their own members. The group has been kept small purposely in order that the contacts might be intimate. It has no constitution, no dues, and no officers except a secretary. The cost of the luncheon is borne pro rata among those who attend or who accept for any given meeting.

Sociologists residing outside of New York City who are in the city temporarily or who are passing through are cordially invited to attend the Town Hall Club meetings.

V

THE SITUATIONAL APPROACH—A REACTION TO INDIVIDUALISM

FRANK J. BRUNO

Washington University

THIS new emphasis upon the social environment of the person which is being developed by certain psychologists and psychiatrists comes as a welcome relief to the wearied ears of some, if not of all, social case workers. We have been too long assailed with complexes, defense mechanisms, and schizophrenias; we have been in danger of forgetting the objective of our job in the fascination of its subject matter. This stressing of the individual, and the different things which may ail him, to all of which we have been taught to give mouth filling Greek terms, has laid us open to the danger of over-attention to what has aptly been called in another discipline—"one's dirty little soul."

If as social workers we had been adequately trained in the basic social disciplines, we could have avoided this skewing of our philosophy and craft. But without such a foundation, we have eagerly appropriated the methodology of a dynamic but individualistic psychology, pinning a faith beyond that enjoyed by the psychiatrists themselves upon its capacity to lead us in the maze of human values. It's a symptom of an almost pitiful lack of adequacy for our jobs that we should have so eagerly seized upon a formulation of habit structures as the mystic thread of gold which is alone capable of guiding us through the labyrinth of human experience. This is not a criticism of psychiatry or of psychology; it is a criticism of the way social case work has forgotten that it is the art of human relations and conceived itself as the custodian of a museum of psychological patterns.

The difference between the phrase "the individual" and "the person" measures the chasm between these two points of view. The individual possesses certain characteristics, interpretable in terms of his reactions to his original endowment, and his environment; the person is non-understandable except as a part of the social environment and the social heritage into whose fabric he is woven.

Mrs. Sheffield's paper calls attention to the more immediate area of this constellation—and especially leads us to remove our eyes from too close attention upon a living unit, and to widen our focus so that we can more properly evaluate the intricacy and many-sidedness of the interplay of social influences of which our hero is a part. Perhaps it is poetic justice that the effective check upon a too individualistic approach caused by over devotion to psychology, should come from psychology itself and not from one of the more strictly social disciplines.

Mrs. Sheffield makes a claim for this method of approach which would prove a godsend to harassed and bedeviled social workers, if the Gestalt psychological method would really make that claim good. It is that the "situation" concept, when adequately used, will define not only "what fact-items are to be included—(but also) what are irrelevant" and that "we must differentiate between the 'total' situation and the more immediate functional situation. By 'functional' we mean displaying only those factors which are taken into account as operatively relevant in handling the case." The illustrations

given seem to be a continuation of the "clue aspects" which Mrs. Sheffield so brilliantly developed at the Milwaukee meeting of the National Conference of Social Work. Yet in actual operation it appears suspiciously akin to an attempt to discover and to treat "the" cause of the social problem with which one is dealing—an attempt which is likely to blind us to the wide possibilities of making errors in the hypothesis, and of becoming artificially removed from the realities of the situation. I can see how taking the entire situation into account enriches one's methodology; I can see how it becomes more important for the social case worker who uses such an enlarged canvas to choose with the most painstaking care the central theme and work out—or in—the other elements, taking care to maintain a proper perspective, lest he produce a result of no social significance or psychological integrity, but I don't see how this particular method helps him to do so. The choice of the central concept is a mechanism exterior to the methodology of the "situation psychology"; and if we do make such a selection out of all the elements in a situation, it probably is made on the basis of some intuitive insight into relative

social—not psychological—values, which leaves us, so far as this particular pons asinorum of social case work is concerned, just exactly where we were before.

The concept has, however, a fundamental application to the treatment side of social case work which appears to me of major importance to social practice. In removing our eyes from the tragic figure at the center of our field of vision, and in becoming better acquainted with actions and interactions of which he is an active, but only one of the active nodes, we realize that our projection into the situation is after all quite a superficial affair. What we can do is trifling as compared with the creative—or destructive—capacity of the social elements in which he lives. But on the other hand, it also brings out with clarity that if we can in any way influence any part of this "situation," find some actor in it more open to suggestion or advice than the client himself, because more intelligent, or less resistant, then the foundations have been laid for more permanent treatment than if we as social case workers attempt it ourselves. The "situation" as the object of treatment holds out an infinite and an intriguing vista of possibilities.

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS-IN-AID, 1930-1931

The Social Science Research Council announces the following appointments to research fellowships and grants-in-aid:

Southern Grants-in-Aid. As a result of an appropriation recently made to the Council by the Julius Rosenwald Fund of Chicago, a special series of small grants-in-aid of research, to be awarded in a regional competition to members of the social science faculties of southern colleges and universities, has been established. It is hoped that these grants, which are to be administered by the Council's Southern Regional Committee, will not only facilitate the completion of significant pieces of social research already under way by southern social scientists, but also stimulate the development by southern institutions of more favorable conditions and more liberal facilities for the carrying on of social science research for 1931-32, nine grants, aggregating \$4,000, were awarded.

Fellowships for Southern Graduate Students. The second annual awards of fellowships to southern graduate students in the social sciences were made on March 10, 1931. From 225 applicants, distributed throughout the South, 17 students were appointed Fellows for 1931-32, and 3 renewals of 1930-31 fellowships were granted. Of the 17 new Fellows, 14 are men and 3 women. Four of the group are Negro students.

(Continued on page 499)

CULTURE CONFLICT AND DELINQUENCY

I

CULTURE CONFLICT AND MISCONDUCT

LOUIS WIRTH

University of Chicago

THE history of criminology as a science is a record of the successive fumbling with anthropological, psychological and sociological hypotheses which have not brought us appreciably nearer to an understanding of the problems of misconduct. In the attempt to explain delinquency we have been repeatedly shifting our attention from the personality to the surroundings and have emphasized first one, then another biological, psychological or cultural fact, usually to the exclusion of all others. In stressing culture conflict as one of the possible factors in delinquency we are merely selecting for special investigation one of the items in the sociological approach and are neglecting for the moment other factors both situational and personal. In the face of the imposing series of exploded theories of criminality, prudence dictates that a new theory avoid the persistent error of claiming universal applicability. It should be frankly stated at the outset, therefore, that not all delinquency is explained by culture conflict and not all of life's experiences and social relations involve culture conflict. But, if the social psychologists are correct, conscious mental life arises out of conflict situations. Still it would be an exaggeration to speak of conflict as a universal etiological principle. There are so many significant problems on which it has an immediate bearing that it is not necessary to magnify the importance of this principle to convince others of its usefulness.

There have been several widely accepted theories of sociology which have been con-

structed around the central notion of conflict. For our purposes, however, we need a much more specific and workable conception than these universalistic theories imply. It is the merit of William Healy to have called attention to the relationship between mental conflicts and misconduct. The sociologist might raise the question whether these mental conflicts as they appear on the inner, personal side of life are not sometimes paralleled by culture conflicts when viewed from the standpoint of the social world.

The records of social agencies concerned with the behavior problems of individuals, in their emphasis on the details of biological heredity, on psychometric tests, on psychiatric diagnoses generally reflect the fashion that happens to prevail at the moment with reference to the sciences of human behavior. In our conventional case records we often find, largely due to medical, psychological, and psychiatric bias, a fairly detailed account of the personal characteristics of the individual, but relatively little about the cultural setting, the group customs out of which the individual's behavior at least in part flows. One is tempted to ask: Is it not as important to record the sometimes grossly conflicting family traditions of the paternal and maternal ancestors as to trace their respective childhood diseases?

Whatever may be the physical, the psychological and the temperamental differences between various races and societies, one thing is certain, namely that their cultures are different. Their traditions,

their modes of living and making a living, the values that they place upon various types of conduct are often so strikingly different that what is punished as a crime in one group is celebrated as heroic conduct in another. The obvious fact about the relativity of social values is so strikingly expressed in some of our earliest sociological literature, such as Sumner's *Folkways*, for instance, that one may indeed wonder why it has not furnished the starting-point for the sociologists' research into delinquency and crime.

The ethnological evidence, which we are not considering here, seems to indicate that where culture is homogeneous and class differences are negligible, societies without crime are possible. A small compact, isolated, and homogeneous group seems to have no difficulty in maintaining its group life intact, in passing on its institutions, practices, attitudes, and sentiments to successive generations and in controlling the behavior of its members. Punishment, at least in the formal sense, as we know it in our society, is unknown and unnecessary in such a community. The control of the group over the individuals is complete and informal, and hence spontaneous. The community secures the allegiance, participation and conformity of the members not through edicts of law, through written ordinances, through police, courts and jails, but through the overwhelming force of community opinion, through the immediate, voluntary, and habitual approval of the social code by all. The individual in his conduct is supported and fortified by the group as a whole. Even in such a community personal rivalry and friction and the impulsive violation of the mores may perhaps never be ruled out entirely, but such a community can at least be relatively free from external and internal cultural schisms which are the source of much of our own social strife and

personal and social disorganization. On the other hand, for example, one needs only to spend some time in Germany, especially if one knew that country before the war with its reverence for law and order, its thrift and its honesty, to realize what a disorganizing effect a mutation of cultural values may exert upon human conduct. Such mutations, however, may be produced not merely by social upheaval, but also by migration, by social contact, and, less abruptly, by the ordinary process of attempting to transfer a tradition from one generation to the next.

Most human beings, living in a civilization akin to our own, are exposed to experiences that carry back to varied cultural settings. To understand their problems of adjustment, therefore, it is necessary to view the personalities from the perspective of their cultural matrix and to note the contradictions, the inconsistencies, and the incongruities of the cultural influences that impinge upon them. The hypothesis may be set forth that the physical and psychic tensions which express themselves in attitudes and in overt conduct may be correlated with culture conflicts. This hypothesis may, to be sure, not always prove fitting. If a program of adjustment based upon such a theory does not prove fitting and effective, another explanation for the conduct in question must be sought. In singling out culture conflicts we are merely pointing to one variety of many causal explanations of human conduct and conduct disorders, which may at the same time furnish valuable clues for therapeutic measures.

Whatever differences of opinion may exist between our contemporary schools of sociological thought, there is one proposition on which all would agree, viz., that human conduct presents a problem only when it involves a deviation from the dominant code or the generally prevailing

definition in a given culture, i.e., when a given society regards it as a problem. Our traditional legal conceptions of crime in terms of guilt, involving the determination by means of rigidly stereotyped process whether the accused has violated the prescribed code or not, is in large measure responsible for the arbitrary way in which we have been accustomed to evaluate social behavior, moral conduct, delinquency, and crime. The fact that we distinguish between crime and delinquency and are beginning to make legal process broader and more elastic, as the development of the juvenile court indicates, is a striking recognition of the inadequacy of our conventional method of viewing and treating misconduct, and of our determination to break away from iron-clad legalistic restrictions. Our refusal to see misconduct in the relative perspective of the cultural setting in which it occurs and which makes it into the peculiar problem that it is, has been fostered in no small measure by the official conception of crime in which the determination of the guilt of the offender and the appropriate punishment were the chief points around which the proceedings turned. Not until we appreciate that the law itself—even if in extremely arbitrary form—is an expression of the wishes of a social group, and that it is not infallibly and permanently in accord with the cultural needs and definitions of all the social groups whom it seeks to restrain, can we begin to understand why there should be crime at all. As Dr. L. K. Frank has put it:

The law, both statutory and common law, sets forth the socially sanctioned ways of carrying on life which the social scientists are busily engaged in studying. In doing so, the law, theoretically, provides patterns of behavior for all life situations which, if observed in the individual's conduct, would enable him to avoid any conflict, or at least would protect him if any conflict did arise. . . . Moreover it is clear that in so far as there are shifts and changes in the material and

non-material culture of a group the very existence of rather fixed and established patterns, legally sanctioned and legally enforced, tends to increase the difficulties of the individual and to foster personality deviations, because the individual is being forced by the cultural movements into the use of new patterns of behavior which lack legal sanction and by so much create in his mind conflicts which may be resolved in frank disregard of the law, both criminally and civilly or a more or less serious mental disorder.

Dr. Frank points out how significant it is for those concerned with the offender and the mentally deranged

to begin to understand and consider more carefully the rôle of cultural tradition and institutional life in the patterning of human behavior and its modification. This is especially important at the present time since it is evident that no small part of the behavior deviations represent efforts to encompass adjustments where the cultural traditions and the institutional patterns are in process of change. This suggests that every major category of behavior deviation may be considered as an index of a social disturbance of which the social scientists as a group may not be sufficiently aware.¹

The prevalence of culture conflict as a factor in delinquency strikes one most forcefully when one is dealing, as one so frequently is in American cities, with immigrant families. And it is quite natural that this should be so, for the most obvious distinguishing characteristic of the immigrant is not his physical organism but his foreign culture. Much of what is strange and baffling in the behavior of the immigrant and especially his children disappears if he is thought of as an individual living in a dual cultural milieu. The mysteries of behavior found in the life of the immigrant rarely are intelligible to us if we fail to reckon with the fact that in the immigrant family and community we find not a homogeneous body of sentiments, traditions and practices, but conflicting currents of culture and divergent social

¹ First Colloquium on Personality of the Amer. Psychiatric Association, p. 25.

codes bidding for the participation and allegiance of its members.

If we examine the statistics of crime which take account of the existence of immigrants and their children we have an important clue to a neglected factor in delinquency which has wide bearings and many implications. Sutherland points out that:

The "second generation" of immigrants generally come into contact with the courts as delinquents more frequently than the first generation. The Census report of 1910 which shows the opposite can be disregarded because of the lack of homogeneity in the groups compared. Laughlin's study of prisoners in 1911-22 resulted in criminality rates as follows:

Native white, both parents native-born	81.84
Native-born, both parents foreign-born	91.14
Native-born, one parent native-born and one foreign-born	115.58

In 1920 in Massachusetts per 100,000 population fifteen years of age and over the following numbers were committed to penal and reformatory institutions for adults: 120 native-born of native parents, 226 native-born of foreign or mixed parents, and 143 foreign-born. This is in general the rating of the three groups: native-born whites of native parents have the smallest number of commitments, foreign-born whites rank second, and native-born of foreign parents or mixed parents (the second generation) rank highest.²

The fact that second-generation crime should be even more prevalent than first generation crime does not seem difficult to understand when we note that the immigrant himself, living, as he generally does, in an isolated immigrant colony, even though he has not assimilated New-World standards, is at least supported and controlled by Old-World traditions, which are, to a large extent, reproduced in the immigrant colony, be it Chinatown, Little Sicily or the Ghetto. Under these circumstances, whatever the differences between

native and immigrant culture may be, personal morale and community control are maintained. But the second generation is differently situated. The immigrant child, especially if born in America, does not have the life-long and exclusive attachments to the folkways and mores of the Old-World group that the parents have, who have been reared in the customs and traditions of their people and in whom the memories of the Old World call forth a strong emotional response. The child, because of the relative weakness of his attachment to the Old-World culture, and because of his greater mobility, has greater opportunity of making intimate contacts with the American social world than the parent whose contacts are generally confined to the society of his own countrymen, often within the confines of the immigrant colony itself. What is of greatest significance, however, is the circumstance that the child soon becomes incorporated into a neighborhood—a play—and a school-group, frequently into a gang, where he establishes primary relations with other foreign and native children. It is under conditions such as these—in the course of intimate and spontaneous contacts—that assimilation takes place. The Americanization of the immigrant parents takes place, if at all, through the medium of the children. In the immigrant family the child thus comes to play a rôle not unlike that of the missionary between cultures. The term "Americanization," as Park and Miller point out, is not used popularly among immigrants as we use it. They call a badly demoralized boy "completely Americanized."³ This explains, in part, the fact that the character of the second generation's crime should be different from that of the first generation, as is pointed out by the investigation of

² E. H. Sutherland, *Criminology*, pp. 100-101.

³ *Old World Traits Transplanted*, p. 288.

the United States Immigration Commission of 1910, in which it was found that the crime of the second generation resembled that of the natives much more nearly than that of the immigrants.⁴

My own studies, particularly in the Jewish group, have shown that those social agencies which deal primarily with immigrant families have a unique opportunity, through the attention which they might devote to the collection and interpretation of these cultural facts, to make a contribution not only to the understanding of delinquency in their own cultural group but to delinquency in general. For culture conflicts are by no means confined to immigrant families, but they occur in other families and communities as well, especially where, as is the case in city life, contacts are extended, heterogeneous groups mingle, neighborhoods disappear, and people, deprived of local and family ties, are forced to live under the loose, transient, and impersonal relations that are characteristic of cities. It would be false to suggest that through the extension of social contact under modern conditions of life we are invariably and indefinitely extending the range and depth of culture conflicts. On the contrary, we often find evidence of harmonious blending and fusion of diverse cultural heritages, in the course of which new cultural constructs emerge which are accepted as natural by successive generations, and which organize and give meaning to the conduct of the individual. But it is nevertheless always important to be alert to situations in which culture appears in a state of flux and to understand the processes of change and transition.

Our conduct, whatever it may consist of, or however it might be judged by the world at large, appears genuinely moral to

us when we can get the people whom we regard as significant in our social world to accept and approve it. One of the most convincing bits of evidence for the importance of the rôle played by culture conflict in the cases that have come to my attention, is the frequency with which delinquents, far from exhibiting a sense of guilt, made the charge of hypocrisy toward official representatives of the social order such as teachers, judges, newspapers, and social workers with whom they came in contact. Whether this charge is correct is not as important as the fact that the delinquent believes that these guardians of the social order must be aware of the conflict which he feels. Miss Van Waters remarks pertinently:

When young people violate sacred family traditions and smile complacently, with no loss of self-esteem, it is *not* because they have become anti-social; it indicates probably that they dwell in some other island of social culture which smiles upon their activities, and which is endorsed by some powerful group of adults. Almost all delinquencies of youth are expressed social standards of a part of the adult community which is under no indictment, and which flourishes without condemnation.⁵

We may be able to determine statistically that certain regions in the city have more delinquency than others, but we will not be able to interpret the localization of crime adequately until we see that in each area we may be dealing with a different community and that in each community we may find a different set of conflicting strains of cultural influences and mutually antagonistic groups. For these reasons the high delinquency rates in each part of a given conglomerate cultural zone may be widely different. There may even be communities in which delinquency is part of the cultural tradition. Not only does each community have a culture differing

⁴ Report of the U. S. Immigration Commission, 1910, pp. 14-16.

⁵ Miriam Van Waters: *Youth in Conflict*, p. 128.

from that of every other community, but each gang and each family has a culture of its own which is in competition with other cultures for the allegiance of the individuals. It is important, therefore, to determine whether in our studies of delinquency in the aggregate we are dealing with natural areas or with cultural areas, and within each cultural area it is important to know to which cultural groups within the area or outside of it, the delinquent expresses his primary loyalty.

When a community, a family or a gang acquires traditions of delinquency they serve as codes for the individual just as religious or political traditions exert a controlling influence. A person's loyalty to his gang may account for his misbehavior in his family and his delinquency in the community. The backing of a gang makes it easier for the individual to meet culture conflict situations with a delinquent form of behavior, for the gang is essentially a conflict group and tends to sanction a delinquent mode of conduct as contrasted with the standards of the society represented by the law and the police. If we fail to see that a gang has a moral code of its own—however immoral it may appear to the rest of us—we will not be able to understand the solidarity, the courage and the self-sacrifice of which gangsters are capable. We will not understand then why the criminal with the longest criminal record is often in a position of leadership, why certain crimes are regarded with greater resentment by criminals than by non-criminals, nor why gang justice inflicts the heaviest penalties upon those who commit the greatest of all underworld crimes, namely betraying a member to the police.

This point of view may help also to understand more adequately the phenomenon of recidivism. Recidivism is not merely a matter of acquiring proficiency in a given type of offense, but may be

regarded as a series of successively similar situations and as a symptom of a deepening culture conflict which takes on more definite form as the offense is repeated. The commission of the same offense on the part of the individual is not merely made possible by the continued presence of similar opportunities, it is not merely a matter of facility and convenience on his part, but it may also be symptomatic of the emergence of a characteristic set of attitudes toward the social norms and of persistent pressure from a social group such as a gang. As Burgess, in his study of parole violations, has shown, the number of violations has tended to increase with the number involved in the crime; regularly the lowest rate was found where a man had no associates in crime, to the highest rate where he had five or more associates.

The first prerequisite for the cultural approach to delinquency is, obviously, at least as thorough a knowledge of contemporary cultures, as we have of the cultures of primitive peoples. We should be able to have a more thorough understanding of Polish delinquents because of Thomas' *Polish Peasant*, just as we seem to have a more thorough understanding of all immigrants because of the Carnegie Americanization Studies. But we are far from even an elementary knowledge of the differences in emphasis of social values of the many cultural groups that make up our social life. The sociologist has developed a technique of community analysis as shown in recent studies which ought to furnish the background for the research into delinquency. The beginnings of similar analyses of family groups, of play-, school- and gang-groups have been made. We can no more dispense with such studies in a scientific study of crime than the farmer can carry on scientific agriculture without a thorough knowledge of the soils and the other media in which plants grow.

The sociological study of delinquency,

however, does not end with a general description nor even a careful analysis of the cultural milieu of the individual. On the contrary, the study of the culture on the objective side must be complemented through a study of the personal meanings, which the cultural values have for the individual. The concept of culture and the concept of personality do not stand in opposition to one another. A culture has no psychological significance until it is referred to a personality, and vice versa, a personality is unthinkable without a cultural milieu. The sociologist, moreover, is not primarily interested in personality, but in culture. But culture is not some sort of substance that passes from one generation to the next, or from one individual to another, by means of a biological mechanism, or a simple process of transference. The culture of the group, that is to say the customs, are based on the habits of the individuals, grow out of changes in the habits of individuals and are broken down by the coming together of individuals with different habits. Ordinarily customs are passed from adults to children and in the process emotional elements appear, especially when contradictory impulses are involved. If the human personality is conceived of, as the sociologists propose, in terms of status or position in society, then it is evident that all of us being members of a number of social groups, each with a culture of its own, we are called upon to play a number of sometimes grossly conflicting rôles. Upon the mutual compatibility of these cultures and consequently of these rôles will depend in large measure the efficiency of our adjustments and the integration or disorganization of our personality. The study of the constitutional factors which may condition a person's capacity or tendency to react to these situations in one way or another cannot, or course, be

left out of account; but it must be admitted that what the sociologist is particularly fitted to discover in a given case is not to which biological or psychological type the individual belongs, but the social type he represents.

If the conduct of the individual, as has just been suggested, is seen as a constellation of a number of rôles either integrated or mutually conflicting, each of which is oriented with reference to a social group in which he has some sort of place, we can appreciate the significance of understanding these cultures for the control of the conduct of the individual. But the important features of each cultural situation are not immediately evident to the observer and do not constitute objectively determinable data. They must be seen in terms of the subjective experiences and attitudes of the individual, which, as our experience shows, can best be determined by means of autobiographical expressions and by naïve utterances, especially those which reveal what he assumes to be obvious and generally taken for granted.

A culture conflict can not be objectively demonstrated by a comparison between two cultural codes. It can be said to be a factor in delinquency only, if the individual feels it, or acts as if it were present. This cannot usually, as I have found, be determined on the basis of interviews with him alone, nor on the basis, merely, of his subjective reactions as contained in autobiographical materials. Not until we collect and analyze the opinions and attitudes of different members of the same family or gang to which the individual belongs, do we see the culture conflict clearly revealed. Our attitudes represent for the most part the reflected judgments and conceptions of others, who do not necessarily live in the same culture in which we live, and who do not, therefore, have the same perspective and values that

we have. These differences in attitudes and values are often the measure of the distance that separates us from others. In the immigrant family nothing is more startling than the gulf that separates the older generation from the younger. One of the most characteristic expressions of the awareness of this conflict, as I have found it in children, is the conviction that they belong to an out-cast group. This gnawing feeling of inferiority deprives the individual of the group sanction which is necessary to preserve personal morale. Such a culture conflict frequently eventuates in what Menninger has called the "isolation type of personality." He says:

Seclusiveness, self-consciousness and other symptoms ordinarily regarded as typical of the "schizoid" personality may characterize a personality rendered incapable, rather than undesirous of social contacts, by childhood influences. That is to say that there may indeed be an inherited "constitutional" type of unsocial personality, but in addition an acquired type. This latter type is produced by artificial denial of the proper opportunities for social contacts, by such barriers as geographic isolation, religious and economic differences in the neighborhood, pathological parents, real physical defects and blemishes, and imagined physical or psychic inferiority.⁶

On the other hand, the same feeling of inferiority may express itself in compensatory behavior in the form of a flagrant violation of the social code.

We have already cautioned against the notion that all delinquency is caused by, or involves culture conflict. It is equally important to point out that not every case of culture conflict inevitably leads to delinquency. It is not the culture conflict that makes the individual a delinquent, but his inability to deal with it in a socially approved way. There are many avenues open to a person in such a situation.

⁶ Karl A. Menninger, "The Isolation Type of Personality," *Abstract of Proceedings of 77th Meeting of the Orthopsychiatric Association*.

"It appears," as Professor Thomas has said, "that in a given critical situation one person may readjust on a higher level of efficiency, another may commit a crime and another go to a hospital for the insane."⁷

Delinquency represents merely one way in which the conflict may be expressed if not resolved. Other avenues, given a certain type and situation, may lie in the direction of rumination, phantasy, brooding, and suicide. A third form which this heightened self-consciousness might take is the effort on the part of the individual to secure the acceptance of his cultural values—no matter how delusional they may be—by others. Such a person, far from becoming a criminal, may develop into a prophet, a reformer or a political leader.

In general, culture conflict, as I have encountered it in my cases, may eventuate in delinquency under the following types of situations:

1. Where the culture of a group, to which the individual belongs, sanctions conduct, which violates the mores or the laws of another group, to whose code he is also subject.
2. Where the individual belongs to a group in which certain forms of conduct have a different meaning and where there is a difference of emphasis in values than in the dominant society.
3. Where the individual belongs to a group, whose very basis of organization is conflict with the larger society, from which the individual feels himself to be an outcast. This is obviously true in criminal gangs.
4. Where we have societies in which formal law is at variance with tradition, such as, for instance, where the use of alcohol is sanctioned by tradition but forbidden by law.
5. Where social life is very mobile and where culture is in a state of flux, such as in those areas of cities where there is no organized family or community life and where the social frame-work, that ordinarily supports the individual in his conduct, disintegrates or fails to function.
6. Where the individual belongs to a group, which is itself the product of the incomplete blending of

⁷ W. I. Thomas, *Colloquium on Personality*, p. 8.

different cultural strains, such as a family in which father and mother belong to different racial or religious groups.

7. Where an individual belongs to a group in which he finds himself dissatisfied and stigmatized, but from which he cannot readily escape into the group that he considers superior.

From the standpoint of social therapy a number of tentative suggestions may be set forth:

Obviously, as in mental conflict, one of the first therapeutic tasks is to bring the person into a frame of mind where he can reflect upon the conflict and see it in the perspective of his total experience. In this connection it is important to observe that culture conflicts are real, even if they are only imagined, or exist merely in the phantasy of the child. The significance, from our standpoint, of childhood and adolescent experiences in the family and in other intimate groups is the disposition to acquire a sense of loyalty to the values and the code which this social world imposes upon the developing personality, and which we are naïvely inclined to accept as natural. Subsequent social contacts will perhaps never be completely assimilated to this original heritage. But in the social treatment of individuals who have encountered difficulties in this process the reconciliation of these different contradictory elements is an important educational problem which requires a thorough appreciation of their personal meaning. Rationalization and sublimation may sometimes prove effective in overcoming conflicts. One method of therapy, which certain European psychotherapists are employing with delinquents in proletarian groups, is to "bring them out of their individualistic private circle and make them class conscious, and thus furnish their every-day life with new social

significance." (Karl Lenzberg, Düsseldorf in a paper at the International Congress of Individualpsychologie, Berlin, 1930.) We have learned that even mentally defective children can be placed into a social milieu which does not demand more in the way of adjustment than they are capable of. And we know also that children who are dishonest in one school-room may be honest in the next; that those who cheat in one game often do not cheat in another. In most instances it is not the fear of punishment that makes them honest, but the identification with a cultural ideal or the emulation of a person, such as a teacher, who symbolizes that ideal. Even honesty is not a virtue in all situations.

Besides the therapeutic effort with the individual, the most significant effort toward readjustment of culture conflict difficulties is to reconstruct the cultural milieu in such a fashion that the individual will not be called upon to play fundamentally contradictory rôles in his daily conduct. This may be achieved, among other methods, by migration, by family-school- and vocational adjustment and by supervised recreation.

But whatever therapeutic measures we may undertake, a necessary prerequisite for their success is a more intensive effort on the part of social workers to observe, to record, and to understand the symptoms of cultural maladjustments, and for sociologists to carry further their analyses of culture so that they will not merely have a more thorough understanding of the various cultural configurations that occur in our present-day society with their varying emphasis on social values, but also a greater mastery of the techniques by which the personal meanings of these values for the individual may be discovered.

II

CULTURE CONFLICT VERSUS THE INDIVIDUAL AS FACTORS
IN DELINQUENCY

FLOYD H. ALLPORT

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THE concept of culture, as I understand it, treats human behavior in such a manner as to bring into relief those activities in which many individuals behave in the same, or in a closely similar, fashion. As a point of view discovered by ethnologists and sociologists, it has distinct value for large scale observations of human phenomena. It leaves out of account, however, an equally important aspect, namely, the phases of behavior in which each individual reacts in a manner which is characteristic of himself and *different from* the behavior of his fellows. This latter aspect, which is personality as the psychologist sees it, is likely to be overlooked by sociologists. Its importance was slighted by Dr. Wirth, even though he gave it verbal recognition. The sociological definition of personality as the social status of an individual really places an individual's personality in those round about him, and makes it a matter of their common behavior toward him. The psychologist's view, on the other hand, places personality upon foundations of biological differences and habit systems *within the individual himself*. It stresses elements of behavior which are unique and different from the behavior of others. This view point is significant for an understanding not only of personalities but of culture itself.

From the standpoint of prediction and control this difference of approach can be clearly seen. The culturist can predict the behavior of an individual in matters in which his behavior will be similar to

that of others, or will follow the general pattern of the group; but he will fail in trying to predict that part of the behavior of an individual which differs from this group pattern or which concerns itself with spheres of activity for which no group pattern has been established. The student of the individual, on the other hand, will miss an important clue from the cultural pattern in making his prediction; but he will be at a decided advantage in predicting that which is characteristic of the individual as distinguished from his fellows. To say that there are no such individually differing and characteristic elements of behavior, or at least none worth bothering about, is a position which, I suppose, scarcely any sociologist would take. We make such observations and predictions daily about individuals whom we know. Yet Dr. Wirth seems to come dangerously close to this error when he says that "a personality without a cultural *milieu* is unthinkable;" and again when he implies that the psychologist's problem with reference to personality lies in the discovery of biological or psychological types. Furthermore, it must not be supposed that Dr. Wirth does justice to the rôle of individual personality when he pleads for a report of the subjective experience through which the objective culture manifestation is interpreted; for the *subjective elements* are also likely to be segments of behavior which, though implicit rather than explicit, are common to the cultural group and not peculiar to the individual. The issue here is more subtle

than the old distinction between studying the individual and studying the group; for both individual personality and culture *are* the individual, that is, they represent the same human beings seen from different viewpoints. What I am arguing for, is the study of those phases of an individual's life, both subjective and objective, which are characteristic of him as distinct from others, as well as the study of those phases, subjective and objective, which mark him as similar to others, and which comprise, therefore, the cultural pattern of his group. Certainly no one can say that Dr. Wirth has meant to rule out either phase of the study. He has clearly stated that he considers the cultural approach only a partial solution. But unless we can hold the two aspects always in their proper relation we are likely, in presenting either side, to overlook its methodological limitations.

Although the notion of culture itself is valuable for certain purposes, I am inclined to think that the idea of cultural conflict is more confusing than enlightening. Dr. Wirth himself admits that cultural conflict can not be demonstrated objectively, but must be inferred. It is a factor in delinquency only if the individual acts as if it were so. A part of Dr. Wirth's therapy seems to consist in bringing this conflict into the subject's consciousness. Now it seems to me that instead of setting up some unseen agent behind the individual as causing his symptoms, it would be simpler to attack these symptoms directly. For, after all, it is only the symptoms which we are concerned about. If the Italian boy can learn to behave in school in an acceptable manner, and in a way which does no violence to his habits at home, we need have no concern over the incompatibility of these intangible things which we call "cultures." What is the use of bringing the conflict of cultures to his notice? He probably knows already that the reason

why he cannot get along is because he cannot behave elsewhere in the same way that he behaves in his home. The problem is a concrete one. Its solution is not the rationalizing of two abstract cultures so that they do not clash; but the specific job of helping the individual to adapt himself to a complex environment. Instead of putting our emphasis upon the conflict of cultures, let us therefore put it upon the conflict of specific habits in an individual, that is, upon his antagonistic reactions to a single stimulus in two different settings. Dr. Wirth may reply that this is just what he is saying. Granted; but it is a different manner of saying it. The emphasis now is laid upon the individual; the conflict is seen within a single individual and not between the common segments or cultural habits of groups, abstracted from individuals and considered as operating in a vacuum.

Referring again to our criterion of prediction and control, I can see a possibility for making headway if we deal with *individuals*, whom we can concretely stimulate and handle, rather than with *cultural settings*, which can only be indirectly or metaphorically handled and can never be integrated one with another except as habits of individuals. If cultural conflict exists only in so far as the individual behaves as though it exists, then a good way to abolish it would be to get the individual to behave as though it did not exist. Dr. Wirth would do this by getting him to envisage the ideals or culture of a larger and a more inclusive group. I would proceed in the opposite manner by getting him to react for the time as though he were not a member of, that is not constrained by, any group at all. The problem exists largely through his consciousness of membership in contrasting groups. Why not abolish the consciousness of membership, for the time, in any group? It

goes without saying, of course, that we should have to include in our program the reduction of the consciousness of group differences in the persons composing the individual's immediate environment. In this way the individual could be led to discover himself and find his integration as a true biological and psychological organism, and not as a meeting ground of cultures. If this were done, the stigma of inferiority adhering to a certain race or caste would at once disappear; for the individuals concerned would be led to deny that these symbols represented any group realities to which, as such, and apart from individual differences, any fixed characteristics could be attached. The stereotype of the Negro race, in which all persons having black skins are believed to have certain accompanying inferiorities, would fade away. All that would remain would be individuals similar in skin color, but differing almost infinitely in a host of other aspects. To be a "Negro" would be a reproach neither to the Negro himself nor in the mind of the white man. Thus one of the principal evils inherent in cultural conflict, as Dr. Wirth sees it, would have vanished.

The conflict between racial or caste cultures is, after all, not a conflict between cultures, but between individuals earmarked as belonging to two different groups. The use of a stereotype or conditioning symbolic stimulus by members of one group to designate members of another is a means of increasing the feeling of superiority of the former and of exploiting the latter. By treating the situation as inter-individual, and not as inter-cultural, conflict we can deal with it more realistically; for individual attitudes in the use of racial stereotypes can be altered. It does make a difference, therefore, how we state our problem.

Sociologists will probably reply that

for the individual to detach himself from allegiance to any cultural group would be impossible; or if this could be done it would lead to that very irresponsibility and delinquency we are seeking to avoid. I do not agree. It is not the culture or the feeling of group affiliation of an individual which restrains him, in the last analysis, from antisocial behavior, but the fear of punishment or ostracism. And the dread of ostracism which constrains him is not the fear of separation from some group as such, but the fear of the contempt or ill will of the individuals who are, or may become, his immediate associates. The likes and dislikes between individuals are the compelling factors. Differences of cultural habits are contributory, but they are probably not fundamental. Sometimes they are only rationalizations of dislike incurred upon other grounds. As for punishment as a restraining factor, the individual does not fear it, as a rule, unless he trespasses upon the welfare of those about him. Should he so trespass he will be punished no matter whether his manners and speech reflect a similarity or a difference of culture from his fellows. It is true that he might be punished more severely if he is ear-marked as belonging to an alien culture; but this is largely because in the popular ignorance of the nation from which the offender has come, its cultural stereotype becomes a stimulus conditioning wider fear reactions. The offender is punished twice: once for his crime and once for the supposed evil motives of his race and as a means of deterring other members of that race from committing similar crimes. To call this cultural conflict seems to me a superficial description. It is really conflict between individuals who do not know one another very well. If a wild animal interferes with the interests or safety of another wild animal he stands a good chance of being

what is the difference?

severely treated. And this likelihood, in the absence of any culture at all, at least of any worthy of the name, is usually a sufficient deterrent. It is a mistake to confuse socialization with culture. Socialization is the mere fact of the learning of habits by which people can live together; culture, as defined for us by ethnologists, denotes the *particular habits* of living together which are learned in one group as contrasted with those in another.

Among the cultural conflict situations listed by Dr. Wirth as likely to eventuate in delinquency the following is prominent, namely, "Where the culture of a group to which the individual belongs sanctions conduct which violates the mores or the laws of another group to whose code he is also subject." Now is this situation really a potent factor in delinquency? Stealing, property damage, and sexual misconduct together can probably be said to cover the largest fields of delinquency. To what extent are acts of this sort due to differences of moral codes of different peoples? Now, however greatly racial cultures associated within an area may differ as to *modes* of socialization, we can hardly deny that stealing is frowned upon in almost any culture, as are also sexual promiscuity and marital infidelity. European and Asiatic people, from whom our immigrants have come, have their codes protecting individual life and property just as we have, though the details of the protective restrictions may differ. Perhaps the individual may join a criminal gang outside his own home or settlement; but even here the members of the gang do not usually steal from one another. The conflict producing the delinquency, therefore, lies not between opposing cultures, but between individuals arranged as opposing factions.

I suspect that most of Dr. Wirth's examples of cultural conflict situations can

be translated with an increase of clarity into conflicts either within or between individuals. It is agreed, of course, that the friction between the habits of the home and the outside community may produce tensions causing individuals to break away from the home and seek associations elsewhere. And I agree with Dr. Wirth that a knowledge of both the cultural background and present cultural *milieu* is necessary for an intelligent understanding of the problem. But this breaking away from the old pattern, and failure to take on the new, does not necessarily make criminals of the individuals concerned. We must see what kind of individuals they associate with when they leave the home setting. We must observe what opportunities are offered to secure a living by predatory means while at the same time escaping punishment. Dr. Wirth himself would admit that, among the more fortunate in economic and educational opportunities, those who break from the home culture often make a success rather than a failure of their lives from the standpoint of social adjustment. I will admit that the dislocation of an individual between two cultures, into neither of which he can wholly fit, may frequently thrust him out so that he readily joins other outcasts who do not conform to the mores, that is, the criminal class. But the conflict of cultures is not the sole, or perhaps even the main factor here. We have to reckon first with anti-social tendencies in the individual himself, and secondly with the racial or national prejudice against him in members of the community, a prejudice based perhaps not so much upon contrast of culture as upon nationalistic, concerted opposition against aliens who are economic competitors. In this case, again, our conflict resolves itself to one between individuals. *no!*

It has been pointed out that individuals

Is this not a metaphorical inference?

who live in regions where two cultures overlap, and who themselves are, as it were, the meeting ground of those two cultures, may often experience no inner conflict or tension at all. I suspect that, if it were only a matter of ironing out the differences between ways of doing a thing, the adjustment could speedily be made, and the individual could soon make himself feel integrated and at home in his new environment. The mixture of cultures would become for him an orderly and unified way of living. I suspect also that underneath the surface of these seeming cultural frictions, which are after all only metaphorical inferences, lie the more significant factors,

namely, the conflicts between individuals. In such conflicts the opponents merely seize upon conspicuous cultural difference as tools or as rationalizations for achieving, in one way or another, an exploitation of the opposing faction. To make the individual more fully conscious of the cultural conflict in the hope of solving it would therefore only sharpen the implements by which the real struggle is carried on, and would divert suspicion from the more basic attitudes which motivate the encounter. Here again, "the conflict of cultures" becomes a cloud of terminology which befogs the issue.

III

CULTURE CONFLICT AND PHYSICAL INADEQUACY AS BASES FOR MISCONDUCT

T. WINGATE TODD

Western Reserve University

IT IS an honor to have the opportunity to discuss the stimulating and thoughtful essay by Dr. Wirth upon Culture Conflict and Misconduct. Widely different as our training has been and almost diametrically opposite our approach to the common problem, it is engrossing to me to note how closely, in the end, we must converge.

The first thought presented by Dr. Wirth catches one's attention by its sanity, namely the disclaimer of a panacea or even of a common etiology for the social malady. For social malady, misconduct must be construed whether by the social physician or the medical practitioner. "If there had been a law given which could have given life," wrote Saint Paul to the Galatians, "verily righteousness should have been by the law." And I suppose, until that day,

still afar off, to which the apostle looked forward when the "promise by faith may be given" we must all be kept under the law as our schoolmaster, "shut up with the faith which should afterwards be revealed." This, I take it, is the earliest essay on the theme much more recently reopened by Dr. Healy on the fundamental relationship between mental conflict and misconduct. Dr. Wirth suggests that these mental conflicts may be paralleled by culture conflicts and perhaps I may be allowed to remind you that the conflict may arise out of the physical being itself. For surely it is in the flesh at least as much as in the Spirit that the soul resides!

Perhaps Dr. Wirth is too modest when he merely claims, as a hypothesis, the possibility of correlation between physical or psychic tensions and culture conflicts, for,

I take it, he uses the term "conflicts" here rather as I would use the term adjustment. The rapid and often fundamental changes to which our modern culture is exposed emphasizes the conflict aspect of this adjustment. It was the merit if not the salvation of the "good old days" that culture had a simpler and more stable character, permitting to adjustment its necessary leisurely progress, unembarrassed by sudden social changes, migrations, widespread social contacts, and a rapidly expanding cultural horizon. The trappings of tradition, complex though they be, do not of themselves render adjustment difficult so long as there be no cultural schism or restless apprehension engendered by unpredictable but continual cultural change.

Inevitably Dr. Wirth reflects upon law for law is the arbitrary expression of social sanction. And as Shaw pointed out in his characteristically forceful way, law is never so necessary as when it has no ethical significance whatsoever and is pure law for the sake of law. Dr. Wirth reminds us that law is not infallibly and permanently in accord with the cultural needs and definitions of all the social groups it affects. Why should it be! In most instances it does not matter in our cultural life what we decide to do so long as we can absolutely depend upon everyone doing the same thing in the same circumstance. As Shaw pointed out the wasp that can be depended on to sting you if you squeeze him is less of a nuisance than the man who tries to do business with you, not according to the customs of business, but according to the Sermon on the Mount. Codes of conduct will always be needed, and infringements will always occur if for no other reason than that the ordinary man must always be told what to do at every turn.

This is more than ever true of a culture,

the elements of which are in a constant state of change. And it brings me to the consideration of a point on which Dr. Wirth, like most essayists on the subject of misconduct, lays special stress, namely the relation to law and order of the second generation of immigrants. My question is whether, without far more sympathetic and penetrating analysis of the data than has yet been carried out, we are justified in building up an abhorrence of the offenses of this second generation. Is it not possible that these young people stand as the whipping boy for the American people? Is their misconduct on the whole really a deplorable overturning of ethical standards or in the majority of instances, an infraction of what might be termed the sheer etiquette of the community? In Cleveland, according to Mr. Green's investigations, the criminal districts are not necessarily the quarters of the alien inhabitants and their offspring but the congested areas, no matter what peoples they house. Mystification at the elaborate and everchanging code which afflicts American people even of Mayflower stock, must be far more unintelligible to those who have lived under social regulations which at least are stable. Children born to these people have indeed their own problems of adjustment which can scarcely be fully appreciated by Americans who are free-born. Those of whom I speak have bought freedom with a great price. It is inevitable that, in the process of Americanisation, there should be belittling of other cultures, to put the matter no more strongly, but might not the slur be mitigated? You see I speak, not as the fool who considers himself impartial, but argue recklessly in order that the point be not lost. Might we not look into this problem which I have euphemized as mystification? Dr. Wirth glances at it in his reference to situations in which culture appears in a state of flux.

One other point and I have done. My own work in the community has special reference to what Menninger called "the isolation type of personality." I have the sometimes heavy burden of deciding problems of racial origin, especially as between white and Negro stocks. And again it falls to me to investigate, from the medical point of view, our instances of juvenile delinquency and domestic infelicity. Concerning the distress and personal torture inflicted upon innocent children by the question of racial origin I do not need to dilate. That can be left to the sympathetic imagination of my hearers. But of the second problem I might speak for a moment. Recently it has been our good fortune to procure for ourselves, by means of the x-ray, what may be termed experimental eyes, by which we can register the actual physical development of the growing child. Imagine, then, my amazement when comparing groups of adolescent delinquents with selections of healthy happy youngsters to find that very many of the former are out of tune, developmentally, with their years. Our conventions require a rather rigid ad-

justment, scholastically, intellectually, and socially to a code based arbitrarily upon age in years. Yet the disparity in youth between their years and their development is quite marked, so marked indeed as to be disquieting. Of eight girls examined in one morning for the Women's Protective League only two showed a physical development consistent with their years. The other six were physically advanced from one to five years. To me, as a physician, the astonishing fact is the gallantry and success with which the majority of our growing children adjust themselves to this rigid code in spite of their physical and mental anomalies and in spite of a social horizon which is far greater than that of their parents. And again pleading recklessly, as a physician must, let us look at the infractions of our cultural code not from the point of view of revolt or of deductions or reason, but of satisfaction of passions in defense of which no rational account whatever can be given. I started with Saint Paul; I will finish with the Preacher. "Be not righteous over much, neither make thyself over wise. Why shouldest thou destroy thyself?"

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

(Continued from page 485)

Research Fellowships in the Social Sciences. The seventh annual awards of Research Fellowships were announced in February, 1931. Twenty-four new Fellows were appointed for 1931-32, and two extensions of 1930-31 fellowships were made. The total amount involved in these awards approximated \$75,000. Since the inception of the fellowship program in 1925, a total of 139 persons have been awarded Research Fellowships, with stipends aggregating over \$435,000.

Grants-in-Aid. During 1930-31 the council awarded 33 grants-in-aid from 85 applications. The total amount involved in these grants is approximately \$23,000. Since the inception of its grants-in-aid program in 1927, the Council has allocated over \$90,000 to 127 individual research projects ranging over the fields of economics, history, political science, sociology, social psychology, anthropology, law, statistics, and education.

Fellowships in Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology. For the fourth successive year fellowships have been awarded by the Council to graduate students in the fields of agricultural economics and rural sociology. Twenty appointments for 1931-32, involving stipends which aggregate \$28,500, were voted by the Committee in March. With these awards the total sum expended on agricultural fellowships since their establishment in 1928 reaches \$120,000.

PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE RELATION OF SOCIOLOGY TO SOCIAL WORK— HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED

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SOCIOLOGY and social work, though rooted in independent origins, have had within the past century a development indicative of a complementary and interdependent relationship. Examinations of the proceedings of the American Social Science Association, the National Conference of Social Work, and the American Sociological Society, as well as a study of other sources, tends to show that in their developments sociology and social work have interacted in a zone of interests and activities common to both. Opposed to this view of interdependence is the view that any awareness of a relationship of sociology to social work has been a development of the past decade and was practically non-existent in earlier years. Such a position ignores the history of the movements during the latter half of the nineteenth century and interprets the absence of so full an expression of interdependence in the first twenty years of the present century as indicative of no prior relationship.

An examination of the proceedings of the American Social Science Association, as published in the *Journal of Social Sciences* beginning with its first volume in 1869, shows definitely a relation of this or-

ganized expression of the social science movement to charity and philanthropy.¹ The stated objectives of the American Social Science Association and the stated conceptions of social science nearly identify them with the then existing conceptions and objectives of charity and philanthropy.² In addition to declarations of its officers to the effect that charity was inclusive of the interests and operations of the Association, topics of addresses at its meetings in the years 1869, 1870, and 1871—"Supervision of Charities," "Public Charities of the State of New York," "Housing," "Juvenile Delinquency"—may be cited as evincing such an interest.³

A significant attestation of the relation of sociology and social work in their precursory stages is the fact that the National

¹ It is here assumed social science embodied precursory sociology; since it is accepted that sociology has its origins more in the greater social science movement, then in a philosophical-historical movement. See A. W. Small, *Origins of Sociology*.

² F. B. Sanborn, "The Work of Social Science in the U. S.," *Jour. Social Science*, VI (1874), 36-45.

³ F. B. Sanborn, *op. cit.*, *Jour. Social Sc.*, I (1869), 72-87.

T. W. Dwight, *op. cit.*, *Jour. Social Sc.*, II (1870), 69-91.

Discussion, *Jour. Social Sc.*, IV (1871), 160-302.

Conference of Social Work had its inception in the American Social Science Association.⁴ The first five meetings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, as the national social work organization was named until 1917, were held in connection with the meetings of the American Social Science Association and were virtually sections of it; and volumes one through seven of the *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction* are reprinted from the *Journal of Social Science*.⁵

In 1886, the American Social Science Association organized ten departments, three of which were: "Punishment and Reform of Criminals," "Prevention of Vice," "Public and Private Charities (care of the poor, insane, blind, idiotics, deaf-mutes, foundlings, orphans, etc.)." This departmental classification was used in a survey of "Social Science Instruction in Colleges," a report of which was given at the 1886 meeting of the Association. Of the 105 institutions included in the report 22 (21 per cent) gave courses in "Public and Private Charities," 24 (23 per cent) gave courses in "Prevention of Vice," and 34 (30 per cent) gave courses in "Punishment and Reform of Criminals," in their departments of social science.⁶ Thus, this study indicates that social science courses included that which was the concern of charity workers and is now the concern of social workers, and it is an evident truism that, if workers in charity in 1886 or earlier years were to be educated at all for more effective functioning, they could turn nowhere for academic instruction save to the colleges and universities

offering courses then embraced under social science but soon thereafter to come under sociology.

Thus far the relation of social science to charities, correction, and philanthropy has been shown to be positive. This discussion has brought us chronologically to about the year 1886, which year might be said in a general way to mark the beginning of a new stage in the development of the relation of sociology to social work. In that year there is the first indication that sociology nomenclature was taking hold. As far as is known, university departments for the first time appear to have sociology designations in 1886, and, without necessarily assuming a causal relationship to the latter, it can be stated and will be shown that in the closing years of the 19th century and the opening years of the present century there existed an especially close relation of sociology to charities, correction, and philanthropy.⁷

The seventh section of the International Congress of Charities, Correction, and Philanthropy held in Chicago, in June, 1893, was titled "Sociology in Institutions of Learning." At that Congress Professor Graham Taylor offered a resolution proposing that the Congress petition the National Conference of Charities and Correction for the creation within the latter body of a permanent section on "Sociology in Education." When his resolution was presented to the National Conference it was reported that such a section had been

⁷ Indiana U. reported, according to the Talbot survey, having a dept. of Economics and Sociology. The U. of Vermont gave instruction in charities and correction as a dept. of sociology (D. Fulcomer, "Instruction in Sociology—," *Proc. Nat. Conf. C. & C.* (1894), pp. 76-85). Small believed such a departmental designation to have appeared for the first time when Blackmar named the dept. he organized in 1889 at Kansas U., "History and Sociology" (A. W. Small, "Fifty Years of Sociology in the U. S.," *Amer. Jour. Sociology*, XXI (1916), 721-864).

⁴ It became a separate organization in 1879.

⁵ H. H. Hart, "The Relation of the Nat. Conf. of Charities and Correction," *Proc. Nat. Conf. C. and C.* (1893), pp. 1-32.

⁶ Mrs. Emily Talbot, "Social Science Instruction in Colleges," *Jour. Social Science*, XII (1887), 7-27.

provided for. Such a department functioned as a standing committee of the Conference in the years 1894 and 1895. Virtually the same committee existed the two following years, but it did not bear the sociological designation.⁸

The National Conference of Charities and Correction standing committee on "Instruction in Sociology in Institutions of Learning," in 1894, included the following members: John Farley, R. T. Ely, G. W. Jenks, Edward Cummings, A. G. Warner, Graham Taylor, and Albion W. Small. In 1895 the committee included Seth Low, Francis Peabody, W. F. Blackman, John G. Brooks, C. R. Henderson, Arthur Fairbanks, Graham Taylor, and Franklin H. Giddings. Giddings continued a member of the committee in 1896 and 1897. Frank Fetter of Indiana University was a member of it in 1897.

Sociologists were prominent on the programs of the Conference. Some that appear are: Franklin H. Giddings, H. H. Powers, Charles H. Cooley, C. R. Henderson, Frank Fetter, F. W. Blackmar, and Charles A. Ellwood.⁹ In his presidential address in 1893, Hastings H. Hart commended the participation of sociologists in the Conference prior to that year.¹⁰ Sociologists and other social scientists further demonstrated their interest in the work of the Conference by actual membership in it. In the years 1889 to 1905 the following were members: F. W. Blackmar, C. H. Cooley, F. H. Giddings, Daniel Fulcomer, C. R. Henderson, Edward T. Devine, Frank Fetter, Walter F. Wilcox, H. H. Powers, J. E. Dillard, and R. T. Ely.¹¹

⁸ *International Congress of Charities, Correction, & Philanthropy*, (1893), pp. 110f, *Proc. Nat. C. C. & C.*, 1894-1896.

⁹ *Proc. Nat. Conf. C & C.*, 1894-1905.

¹⁰ H. H. Hart, "The Relation of the N. C. C. & C. 8-," *Proc. Nat. C. C. & C.*

¹¹ Membership Lists, *Proc. Nat. C. C. & C.*, (1889-1905).

Thus, the organization of the National Conference and the appearance of sociologists as its officers, as its members, and its speakers, seem to attest during the period under consideration a positive relation of sociology to the social work movement.

The Fulcomer and Tollmann surveys of sociology in institutions of learning made in this period indicate that sociology was widely considered as inclusive of courses in charities and correction. Fulcomer's study shows 84 institutions giving courses in sociology and of that number 53 use the term to include charities and correction and only 31 use the term in the more restricted sense.¹² The Tollmann study of 1902 shows 163 of a total of 185 colleges giving as regular courses or incidental courses ones having a content dealing with the problems in charities and correction. More specifically, 54 are reported as giving courses classified by Tollmann as sociology of dependent classes; 56, as sociology of delinquent classes; 51, as practical sociology; 16 have sociology courses embracing field work.¹³

Thus, in institutions of learning sociology was inclusive of courses not only of a social work nature but designed in instances as education for social workers. As a matter of fact social workers were largely dependent upon such courses for social work education; for separate training schools scarcely existed in 1902.

In the introductory paragraph of this paper it was suggested that the relation of sociology to social work during the first twenty years of the present century was slight. Although this suggestion is in general descriptive of the situation, it does not deny the existence of an ex-

¹² Daniel Fulcomer, "Instruction in Sociology in Institutions of Learning," *Proc. Nat. C. C. & C.*, (1894, pp. 67-85.

¹³ Frank L. Tollmann, "The Study of Sociology in Institutions of Learning," *Amer. Jour. Sociology*, VIII (1902), 85-121.

pressed relation of sociology to social work during that period. There are instances that confirm the existence of awareness of interdependence. The organization meeting of the American Sociological Society, in which social workers had a large share, is an expression of felt mutuality of sociologists and social worker.¹⁴

Sociology and social work are referred to as if aspects of the same movement, and the social worker is termed a type of sociologist, in the official records of the first meeting of the American Sociological Society. Expressions of the "need for an organization of sociologists which will get together those who are engaged in practical work" were made by "a practical sociologist, Mr. Wallace E. Miller, of the First Settlement Society of Columbus, Ohio," and by "another practical sociologist, Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer of the New York School of Philanthropy;" the latter saying, "I am very anxious that there shall be a clearing house in the field of sociology, especially that which has focused into practical effort—I hope applied sociology, or the new scientific philanthropy, will receive due attention in the consideration of the conference."¹⁵ The prevailing opinion at this meeting was that practical sociologists should not only be welcome in the new organization but that "one of the best results would be achieved by bringing into close and regular contact the 'theoretical' and the 'practical' sociologists, each has to learn from the other."¹⁶

The names of several well known social workers: Jane Addams, Kate H. Claghorn, Mary E. McDowell, and Robert E. Woods of South End House, Boston, appear on

the charter roster of the American Sociological Society.¹⁷ Jeffrey R. Brackett, Graham Taylor, Edward T. Devine, F. W. Blackmar, C. H. Cooley, James Q. Dealey, Edwin L. Earp, C. A. Ellwood, Henry W. Farnam, C. R. Henderson, Carl Kelsey, and Walter F. Wilcox held memberships in both the Society and in the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1906.¹⁸ Incidentally, no one of the before named group of social workers had memberships in the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1906.

However, the history of the Society for approximately the first fifteen years of its existence does not show realization of the coalescence of their interests and activities ideally suggested by the sociologists and "practical sociologists" at its first annual meeting.

Quite interesting is the observation that during the first ten years of the existence of the American Sociological Society the meetings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction give little evidence that that organized expression of social workers had any interest in sociologists and sociology. At the 1915 meeting of the Conference there was a division on the program, named "Education for Social Work," under the direction of a committee headed by Porter R. Lee, who had as associates: George B. Mangold, Frederic Siedenberg, and James Haggerty. In the fifty pages of addresses and discussion under that division-topic there is no mention of sociology, and even the word "sociology" seems to be absent.¹⁹

However, from 1917 sociologists appear regularly on the programs of the Conference. Among those sharing in its or-

¹⁴ Organized in 1906.

¹⁵ Organization of the American Sociological Society, Official Report, *Amer. Jour. Sociology*, XI (1906) 555-569.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Membership list, *Publications Amer. Sociological Society*, I (1906).

¹⁸ Membership List, *Proc. Nat. Conf. C. & C.* (1906).

¹⁹ *Proc. Nat. Conf. C & C.*, (1915), pp. 576-626.

ganization and appearing on its programs during the years 1917-1922 are the following: J. M. Gillette, L. H. Bailey, Cecil North, Warren H. Wilson, A. J. Todd, Ernest R. Groves, Bessie McClenahan, F. W. Blackmar, Hornell Hart, Paul L. Vogt, R. E. Park, C. A. Ellwood, F. Stuart Chapin, R. L. Morgan, A. Goldenweisser, and F. Siedenberg.²⁰

There is initiated a new demonstration of interest of the American Sociological Society in social work by the creation in 1921 of the now fully developed section on "Sociology and Social Work." This move on the part of the Society correlates in general with a reawakened awareness of the interdependent character of sociology

the: "research interests of sociologists," "opinions of sociologists and social workers," "contributions of sociology to social work and social work to sociology," and other topics. It is proposed to omit discussion of these published studies and present some findings of my recent investigations which have a bearing on the question of the contemporary relation of sociology to social work.

In order to ascertain the societal affiliations of the persons appearing on the programs at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Society and the National Conference of Social Work the proceedings of these meetings and membership lists of both organizations and the Ameri-

TABLE I
SOCIETAL AFFILIATIONS OF PERSONS ON ANNUAL PROGRAMS (1923-1928)*

MEETINGS	AFFILIATIONS†							
	A	N	W	N-W	N-A	W-A	A-N-W	Misc.
Amer. S. S.	372	4	10	10	18	20	62	101
N. C. S. W.	21	64	91	124	8	11	70	285

* Ref., Pub. Amer. Soc. S. and Proc. Nat. Conf. S. W., years 1923-28.

† Key to table: A, membership in Amer. Soc. S.; N, in Nat. C. S. W.; W, in Amer. Ass'n. S. W's.; N-W, in N and W; N-A, in N and A; W-A, in W and A; A-N-W, in A and N and W.

and social work, and has served to stimulate discussion as to their relationships. Numerous studies support the prevailing opinions of Burgess and Karpf that sociology and social work have in recent years exhibited a growing sense of their interdependence.²¹ These studies deal with

can Association of Social Workers, as for the years 1923-1928 inclusive, were examined. The summary findings for the six-year period, which approximate the distributions for each year, are given in Table I.

The table shows that each organization was prone to use on its programs persons who were on its own membership lists. The American Sociological Society had only 4 with memberships solely in the N.C.S.W., only 10 with memberships solely in the A.A.S.W., only 10 with memberships in both the N.C.S.W. and

²⁰ A tabulation of appearances during the years 1923-1928 will be given.

²¹ E. W. Burgess, *Jour. Social Forces*, I (1923), 366-370.

M. J. Karpf, *Jour. Social Forces*, III (1924-25), 419-427.

W. B. Bodenhafer, *The Southwestern Pol. & Social Sc. Quart.*, June, 1928.

Read Bain, *Social Forces*, V (1927), 413-422.

T. D. Eliot, *Pub. Amer. Soc. Society*, XVI (1921), 231-237.

T. D. Eliot, *Amer. Jour. Soc.*, XXIX (1924), 726-746. (And others.)

the A.A.S.W., or a total of 24 with memberships in national social work organizations and not in its own organization. Whereas, it had a total of 372 with memberships only in its own organization and a total of 100 with memberships in one or the other or both social work organizations and in the Society. Possibly 62 of the latter 100, since they hold memberships in both social work organizations, tend more in the direction of social work than sociology.

Thus it can be stated that, during the six-year period, the American Sociological Society had appear on its programs 124 persons having affiliations with social work organizations. This total amounts to one-third as many ($\frac{1}{3}$ of 372) as appear who had memberships only in the Society. Therefore, it seems that the Society was much interested in having persons who were social workers or had social work proclivities appear on its programs. Or from another point of view, it might be deducted that the members of the Society who, by virtue of their memberships in social work organizations, seem to manifest an interest in social work were conspicuous on the programs of the Society.

The National Conference of Social Work, likewise, had relatively few persons appear on its programs during these years who had memberships in the Society and not in its own organization. The table shows that only 21 with only membership in the Society appeared on its programs, that 8 with memberships in the Society and the Conference, that 11 with memberships in the Society and the A.A.S.W., that 70 with memberships in the Society and both social work organizations, or, that a total of 89 with memberships in one or the other or both social work organizations and the Society appeared on the programs of the Conference during the six-year period. When to this number

of 89 is added the 21 who had memberships only in the Society, a total of 110 persons with affiliations in the Society is noted as having appeared on the Conference programs. That total of 110 seems comparable with the number 124, who had affiliations in social work organizations and appeared on the programs of the Society.

Therefore, it can be stated on the basis of the above findings and discussion, that the official national organizations of both sociologists and social workers, by virtue of their having had in proportionate numbers ones with interests in both the fields of sociology and social work appear on their annual convention programs, further suggest the existence of a contemporary relation of sociology to social work.

Another criterion for measuring the relation of sociology to social work is the extent of membership correlations in the national organizations, of sociologists in the National Conference of Social Work and the American Association of Social Workers and of social workers in the American Sociological Society. Accordingly the membership lists of these three organizations were examined comparatively. It was found that 46, or 3.3 per cent, of the members of the Society had membership in the A.A.S.W.; or reversely stated 46, or 1.2 per cent, of the members of the A.A.S.W. had membership in the Society. Further, 40, or 2.8 per cent, of the members of the Society had membership in the N.C.S.W.; or reversely stated 40, or 1.5 per cent, of the members of the N.C.S.W. had membership in the Society. And, 105, or 7.5 per cent, of the members of the Society had memberships in both the A.A.S.W. and the N.C.S.W.

Thus, a comparative study of the 1928 membership lists of these national organizations shows, in summary, the following: a total of 191, or 14 per cent, of the members of the Society had membership in

either one or both of the national social work organizations; a total of 151, or 4 per cent, of the members of the A.A.S.W. had membership in the Society; a total of 146, or 5 per cent, of the members of the N.C.S.W. had membership in the Society.

✓ These figures appear to indicate conclusively that both absolutely and relatively more members of the Society had memberships in the social work organizations than did members of the social work organizations have membership in the Society. They may even lead one to conclude that the members of the Society have thereby manifested more of an interest in social work than have members of the social work organizations in sociology. But since 105 of the Society's total of 191 had memberships in two social work organizations, it might just as easily be assumed that there is more manifestation of sociological interest on the part of those who had the dual social work organization memberships. Aside from such possible deductions, the correlations of memberships do seem to suggest a positive degree of coalescence of interests of certain sociologists and social workers and may be indicative of some contemporary relation of sociology to social work.

However, the membership lists of the national organizations may or may not be fully inclusive of the mass of social workers and, therefore, may not give an adequate picture of their interests in sociology as far as such can be inferred from the holding of memberships in the American Sociological Society. Therefore, partly to correct that error which is actual, membership lists of three city social workers' organizations were correlated with the 1928 membership lists of the American Sociological Society, the American Association of Social Workers, and the National Conference of Social Work.

An examination of the membership list

of the Social Service Forum, Chicago, showed 21, or 4.6 per cent, of its membership of 452 having membership in the Society. Of that number 3 had membership only in the Society, 3 had memberships in the Society and the A.A.S.W., 3 had memberships in the Society and the N.C.S.W., and 12 had memberships in the Society and both of the national social work organizations. Then, 31 per cent of the membership of the Forum were members of the A.A.S.W., and 20.6 per cent were members of the N.C.S.W.

A similar examination of the membership list of the Social Service Club, Minneapolis, showed three, or 1.3 per cent, of its membership of 226 having membership in the Society. Of that number 1 had a membership in the Society and the A.A.S.W. and the other two had memberships in the Society and both social work organizations. Then, 26 per cent of the membership of the Club had memberships in the A.A.S.W. and 9.7 had memberships in the N.C.S.W.

In the St. Louis Conference of Social Work, two, or 1.4 per cent of its membership of 147 had membership in the Society; one of the two had a membership only in the Society and the other had memberships in the Society and both national social work organizations.

Thus, if these city organizations are in any way typically representative of such organized groups of social workers, and if membership in the American Sociological Society is a criterion of interest in sociology or an appreciation of its values or a judgment of its utility, then it can be stated that the social workers afield manifest little interest in and little appreciation for sociology. And, therefore, the findings of this particular investigation could be said to present negative evidence for the relation of sociology to social work. But it may be stated that one should be de-

terred from any such conclusion, or at least from attaching much significance to it, by the observation that relatively small numbers of the members of these local organizations had memberships in the national social work organizations,—from which observation by the same reasoning it might be incorrectly inferred that the members of these groups have little interest in and little appreciation for social work.

In addition to the foregoing citations of

evidence for a contemporary relation of sociology to social work, it can be stated that the findings of a study made in 1929 of the catalogs and bulletins of 35 institutions in the United States and Canada giving education and training for social work, further attest and confirm the existence of a definite and positive relation of sociology to social work.²²

²² This study was made by the author and is on file at Washington University, St. Louis.

SHIFTING EMPHASES IN CASE WORK: THE SOCIOLOGICAL VIEWPOINT

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SOCIAL work is now a profession, or so say the last census takers. As far as case work is concerned it may as well be admitted, this recognition is largely due to the appearance upon the occupational stage of that aristocrat of the profession—the so-called psychiatric social worker. Does this current domination of the psychiatric viewpoint in case work fully explain the attainment at last of professional status and a scientific technique more or less definitive, or, is the present mental hygiene approach rather a popular and most admirable fashion, merely the last in a series of historical emphases, destined in time to take its place with the earlier influences as one element in the complex technique of case work? It is the present writer's somewhat heretical belief that the latter eventuality is the more probable.

Before psychiatry was applied to case work there were other influences, many of which are to a large extent still operative. Having thus been preceded by other points

of view this influence will probably be followed by still other new and suggestive approaches, among them the sociological. The social worker has always been primarily concerned with social rather than with individual forces. The exploitation of techniques largely concerned with the individual has been due to the fact that these sciences, having developed earlier, were available, while academic sociology apparently had little of practical value to contribute. In the meanwhile, however, a newer sociology, more scientific and empirical, has appeared, and the case worker of to-day may perhaps find here much of value for his art, which will supplement, not supplant, the earlier and contemporary influences.

In the 'nineties economics seems to have dominated social work. Relief was the major service rendered. Early in the twentieth century physical conditions were seen as the important cause of distress, and gradually medicine and biology came to dominate the social service stage. The

socially pernicious effects of bad tonsils, adenoids, and unbalanced glands of internal secretion were pointed out. Eugenics came into its own, and that it is still powerful is seen in the present interest in sterilization laws. About the same time mental testing sprang up, and social workers began to discuss the importance of mental defectiveness and to utilize the psychometric approach. While clinical psychology was thus coming into being the mental hygiene movement was started, social psychiatry developed, and finally psychiatric social work appeared to bridge the clinical gap between the psychiatrist and the case worker.

Originating as it did in the study of abnormal mental and emotional conditions psychiatry is still primarily concerned with emotional abnormality. This is inevitable when one considers the background and training of the great majority of psychiatrists. This point of view and technique have been projected into the general field of behavior study with great benefit to the other sciences concerned but not to their exclusion. While this particular approach has been most valuable in the nature of the case it cannot become completely adequate despite apparent attempts in some quarters to establish a monopoly. Personality and behavior are not reducible to any single formula, whether it be in the biological terms of Lombroso, the level of intelligence theory of the mental testers, or the emotional disturbance ideas of the modern psychiatrists. Delinquency or other atypical conduct is a far too complicated phenomenon to be viewed simply as the expression of an anatomical, mental, or emotional type. Goring's control groups showed the fallacy of Lombroso's assumptions; Murchison, Healy, Bronner and others, that of the intelligence testers, and the probability is that as soon as we possess adequate norms for the extent of

emotional instability to be found in the general population we shall recognize such conditions as important but by no means the exclusive cause of deviations in behavior. "Certainly the psychiatric approach in its present form," says W. I. Thomas, "is far from being the panacea that its more ardent and less objective advocates have claimed."¹

Around 1915-16 so-called psychiatric social work came into existence. The psychiatric case worker absorbed something of the scientific spirit and knowledge of mental and emotional mechanisms of the psychiatrist, and in turn undertook to assist him in the social aspects of the admission process in psychopathic hospitals and in the readjustment of paroled patients. From this beginning psychiatric social work gradually extended its scope to other fields, that of children's work being among the first. Thus between the years 1925 and 1928, according to Elizabeth McCord,² there came a change in the idea that the psychiatric approach was valuable in certain types of cases to a realization that it was important in all. In 1926 we find the American Association of Social Workers defining psychiatric social work as "the branch of social case-work that deals with cases of social maladjustment in which a mental factor or a behavior problem is of primary importance. All social cases have a psychological aspect, but psychiatric social work is concerned particularly with those in which the mental problems predominate and require attention by specially trained persons."³ And so the psychiatric social worker emerged from the confines of

¹ W. I. Thomas, and Dorothy S. *The Child in America*, 1928. p. 149.

² "Value of the Psychiatric Approach for all Children's Cases," *Proceedings*, Nat. Confer. Social Work, 1928, 110-116.

³ *Vocational Aspects of Psychiatric Social Work*, pp. 15-16.

the hospital for the insane and entered child guidance clinics, family welfare work, industry, visiting teaching, and various other fields. She had become the case worker *par excellence*, and like the knights of old, *sans peur et sans reproche*, in her efforts to raise case work in the professional scale.

But shouldn't the prize discovered by the psychiatric social worker be shared with her fellows? Isn't psychiatric case work after all merely synonymous with good case work? Shouldn't all professional case workers acquire something of the art of social psychiatry as the latest addition to the professional kit of tools? The answer would seem to be obvious, and there appears to be little excuse for employing the label "psychiatric" except perhaps to those who labor in the social service departments of the hospitals for the insane. Such at any rate is the contention of many psychiatrists, Dr. Henry C. Schumacher, of the Cleveland Child Guidance Clinic, among them, as well as of numerous other critics of social work. Psychiatric social workers in their enthusiasm over the teachings of the psychiatrists should run no chance of weakening their distinctive emphasis upon the social and environmental factors.

Already some of the psychiatrists are coming to see clearly that personality is inextricably intertwined with the total environmental situation, and men like Ralph P. Truitt and Lawson G. Lowrey are urging the cooperation of sociologists and other students of group life. Healy and Bronner, for example, have put more and more emphasis upon the social factors in their recent work. The social worker is primarily concerned with the environment whereas the psychiatrist is after all essentially oriented from the viewpoint of the individual. Hence she should concentrate upon these

features which are more exclusively her field, for "she alone in all the world" says Jessie Taft,⁴ "is attempting to handle human behavior undiluted in its actual setting." Later on she points out too that whereas the psychiatrist may interpret the child he cannot interpret the home. Dr. Lowrey in an article in *Mental Hygiene*⁵ a number of years ago pointed out that whenever the psychiatrist leaves the field of gross insanity he needs the principles of case work and the assistance of the case worker.

Case work and psychiatry are mutually independent but cooperative techniques, and nothing approaching the "doctor-nurse" attitude will be allowed to develop by far-sighted practitioners. "It is not contended," Dr. Lowrey says further in the article just noted, "that either is necessarily the leader, but rather that, for certain types of problems, they constitute a unity working together for the benefit of the client, each not only supplying special techniques, but contributing to a pooled or common technique as well." Where the problem is distinctly neurological or psychiatric the social worker should properly be subordinate to the physician, but when it is essentially a matter of social adjustment that is involved she should probably handle the case in the light of her own psychiatric knowledge, or, if it is indicated, refer it to a mental hygiene clinic on a consultation basis. Thus it would seem that psychiatric concepts are only one set of tools in the hands of the case worker; one of the numerous approaches discovered: she should not therefore, run the risk of neglecting the pecul-

⁴ "The Social Worker's Opportunity," *Proceedings*, Nat. Confer. Soc. Work, 1922, 371-375.

⁵ Lawson G. Lowrey. "Some Trends in the Development of Relationships between Psychiatry and General Social Case Work." *Men. Hyg.* 10: 277-284, April 1926.

ially social and cultural forces for the sake of possibly duplicating the efforts of the psychiatrist.

Again, social case work has not yet succeeded in stating its problem scientifically and adequately. That is to say, there exists, so far as the present writer knows, no satisfactory and professionally distinctive classification of cases or clients, nothing that approaches for instance the diagnostic classification scheme of modern medicine or psychiatry. This is perhaps partly due to a preoccupation with the psychology of individual differences and an over-emphasis upon relatively minute and unimportant variations among clients' problems. It is a danger inherent in the very nature of case work as in all attempts at individualization. But in seeking to avoid the Scylla of mass treatment we must not fall upon the Charybdis of particularism. Adequate treatment demands that we not only individualize the client and his difficulties but also that we fit this particular problem into a diagnostic system, constructed on the foundation of many similar cases. The influence of psychiatry upon the case worker as discussed above, has probably been to focus her attention even more sharply upon the individual as well as to increase her knowledge of his behavior mechanisms. Classifications of problems employed by psychiatric social workers are therefore apt to be either more or less original schemes based upon individual psychology, or else mere imitations of standard psychiatric systems.

The attention of the case worker is constantly in danger of being preoccupied not only with relatively unimportant individual variations but also with the immediate and frequently superficial or irrelevant difficulties which manifest themselves in the life of the client. It is well known for instance, that in the case of

children, truancy, enuresis, school failure, lying, delinquency and similar forms of behavior should be viewed merely as evidences of some more important and deeper-lying social maladjustment. In other words, they are "symptoms," or "accompanying conditions," not fundamental causes. This tendency to state the problem in terms of the immediate troubles rather than in those of social adjustment or lack of adjustment may be seen most clearly in the statistical reports of "problems presented" of family agencies. Note the following, selected from one of the standard forms: "unemployment," "tuberculosis" (purely a medical problem in itself) "drug habit," "mental defectiveness diagnosed," "mental disease suspected," (these last two being essentially psychiatric problems *per se*) "family desertion," "domestic infelicity," "illegitimacy," and the like. The same criticism may be made of the list of "deviations from accepted standards of normal social life" recently compiled by the American Association of Social Workers.⁶ The following "deviations" were selected at random: "alcoholism," "crime," "destructive and unconstructive behavior," "family antagonisms," "migrancy," "prostitution," "parental neglect," "child labor," etc. The same symptom, or "problem," may of course appear in cases which are altogether different from the standpoint of the readjustment of social relations. But the family welfare societies are not to be blamed too severely: similar lists of "problems" appear in the texts in *social pathology*, where the subject is generally stated in terms of the most conspicuous, external and obvious aspect.

Case workers are just beginning to perceive that sociology may have suggestions to make for a restatement of their "prob-

⁶ *Social Case Work: Generic and Specific*. Amer. Asso. of Social Workers, Pub. No. 2., 1929, p. 16.

lems" in terms not only more fundamental but also more in accordance with the original and characteristic emphases of case work. Social work has been rightly skeptical in the past of the help academic sociology might offer, and the appearance of a newer type of sociology has been so recent that this attitude has hardly begun to change. Group and neighborhood work have already profited by the findings of sociological community studies, and the case worker may also appropriate these results. As a part of her treatment program she must thoroughly understand the forces of social therapy which are resident in the group and the community as such, as well as in the industrial, medical, financial, and other facilities to be found there. She may even go one step further perhaps and think of her main problem in terms of the individual's shifting relation to this group and cultural life. Case work then becomes a matter of interpreting the individual in the light of the total social situation, the group and culture setting, and in effecting a readjustment where it is needed, and the problems of case work may be formulated in terms of the nature of the accommodation that should or can be made. The "individual" nature of group work is clearly seen in the definition of a recent writer.⁷ "Group work," she says, "concerns itself with services toward individuals in a group brought together through a common interest, and guided by means of suitable and congenial activities toward a well-rounded life for the individual; and, for the group, a cooperative spirit and acceptance of social responsibility."

Such a restatement cannot effectively be made without the aid of the science devoted to the analysis of the development

of cultural patterns and group relations. Especially is this true in the instance of case work with groups such as the family. Sociologists have been studying the family and its conflicts in a scientific spirit for a number of years. Burgess, Meroney, Mowrer, Krueger, and others, for example, have attempted to work out classifications of typical situations in which family discords or conflicts arise. On the basis of a hundred intensively studied cases Mowrer proposed the following division of types of "tensions:" (1) "incompatibility in response," including sexual incompatibility; (2) "economic individualization," including such occasions for conflict as separate careers for husband and wife, differences in standards of living, and the financial independence of the wife; (3) "cultural differentiation," meaning irritating differences in the religious and cultural backgrounds of the husband and wife; (4) "individuation of life-patterns," including personal differences in habits and opinions.⁸ Mowrer attempted, but did not succeed, to work out types of sequences of the above tensions.

Again, the investigation of immigrant backgrounds and cultures as exemplified by Thomas and Znaniecki's *Polish Peasant in Europe and America* has proven of great value to case workers dealing with such groups in this country. The Lynds' *Middletown*, a more recent example of the "culture analysis" method, undoubtedly furnishes case workers in Muncie, Indiana, with an illuminating background against which to evaluate and reorganize the social relations of their clients.

A considerable number of studies have been made from the so-called ecological standpoint, which possess significance for case work. Mowrer in studying family disorganization in Chicago, for example,

⁷ Margaretta Williamson. *The Social Worker in Group Work*. Harper and Bros. N. Y. 1930, p. 7.

⁸ E. R. Mowrer. *Family Disorganization*, 1927, pp. 195-215.

found five kinds of areas characterized by five types of domestic situations.⁹ First there were the "non-family," rooming-house areas just outside the "Loop," inhabited by single men and women. The second type of area, stretched along the main highways, he termed "emancipated." Here lived married couples without children in kitchenette apartments and residential hotels. The third kind, or "paternal areas" embraced the foreign and tenement-dwelling groups among whom divorce was rare but desertion common. Still further out from the center of the city were found the "equalitarian areas" inhabited by the small families of business and professional men living in apartments. Both desertion and divorce were discovered among these classes. Finally, the "maternal family areas" were found in the suburbs and the regions of detached houses. Among these small families the wife played the leading rôle in the neighborhood life, and both desertion and divorce were rare.

Mrs. Cavan,¹⁰ in like manner, found certain relationships between the distribution of suicides in the same city and the nature of the community. Suicides, she discovered, increased from none in certain outlying districts to 87 per 100,000 in the "Loop." In the high suicide rate areas were found many other evidences of disorganization, crime, drug addiction, divorce, prostitution, and alcoholism. Again Shaw¹¹ and his associates, also working in Chicago, showed the significance of the spatial distribution of crime, delinquency, and truancy. The same tendency of the rates to vary inversely in terms of distance from the center of the city was found.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-127.

¹⁰ Ruth Shonle Cavan, *Suicide*, 1928.

¹¹ Clifford Shaw, et al. *Delinquency Areas*. 1930.

Applied sociology too, has the duty of helping at least, to determine the "standards of normal social life," deviations from which constitute the problems listed in the recent publication of the American Association of Social Workers to which reference has already been made.¹² Finally, sociological studies of the social conditioning of personality in various cultural settings and diverse group situations, of the socially determined process of acquiring attitudes, and the nature of the individual's reactions to group control have perhaps an even greater significance for the restatement of the problem of case work. If this fact is grasped by the social worker, case work will have entered the period of sociological influence.

This paper is concerned primarily with a suggestion for a classification of the problems with which case work deals, more fundamental than most of the rough groupings of symptoms generally employed, as for example, that the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work (now Family Welfare Association of America).¹³ According to this summary the problems of family case work are grouped under five main heads: (1) industrial, (2) physical, (3) mental, (4) social and behavior, and (5) community. Such a classification is far too superficial. Queen and Mann in their *Social Pathology* (1925) proposed the terms "unadjustment," "maladjustment," and "demoralization" to describe the nature of the individual's relationship to society. In facing a "crisis," the person may be temporarily "unadjusted." But if he fails to find a way out, loses his "nerve," and becomes less able to meet new crises, he is "maladjusted." Finally, when discouraged by

¹² *Social Case Work: Generic and Specific*. Pub. No. 2. 1929. p. 16.

¹³ "The Content of Family Social Work," *Quarterly Bul.* June, 1926.

repeated failures he may actually become "demoralized." Such a classification while excellent as far as it goes, is not elaborate enough to fit the cases encountered.

If case work is the art of developing personality and of readjusting personal relationships through a manipulation of group contacts and the reconditioning of social attitudes, then it should be possible to state its problems in terms of the individual's response to social control, the degree of maladaptation present, and the amount of readjustment required and possible under the conditions.¹⁴ We need a diagnostic classification based upon both symptomatic and etiologic factors, and oriented from the standpoint of social treatment. The basis of such a classification may be found, it seems to the writer, in the analysis of the typical responses of the individual to social control, in his attempts to realize his wishes in ways satisfactory to himself and at the same time more or less in harmony with the group's definition of the situation, of the values involved, and of the behavior patterns permissible from its standpoint. A scientific knowledge of such group or social standards would be essential in interpreting the client's responses.

On the basis of the analysis of a fairly large number of cases involving both organization and disorganization, the following seven typical accommodation patterns are provisionally suggested:

1. *Pre-adjustment*: This term would indicate the situation of the very young child who had not yet developed habits sufficiently efficient or adequate to permit his satisfactory adjustment to the group. Psycho-physical problems encountered in the habit clinic might be included here. Treatment would consist largely in the control of habit formation.

2. *Adjustment*: In this form of adaptation to group

control and the cultural situation the individual possesses strong desires for approval, and is in agreement with the community definition or values and standards and his accommodation is therefore one of conformity. Such a reaction would constitute a case work problem only when the group in question happened to be delinquent, "submerged" or disorganized itself, or when such conformity is slavish, not constructive. Treatment would consist in changing the group or modifying the community.

3. *Unadjustability*: In this class might be put those who on account of mental defect, psychopathic condition or permanent and serious physical handicaps are unable to adapt themselves satisfactorily to social standards and group demands. They are properly institutional cases, or demand a highly simplified environment of another sort.

4. *Unadjustment*: This diagnosis might be made where overt conflict between the individual and social control follows the former's attempts to secure satisfaction for his wishes and impulses independently. The rebel, habitual delinquent, the "spoiled" child, the runaway, and the professional criminal illustrate this class. Coercive control at the beginning at least, seems to be indicated.

5. *Maladjustment*: Sometimes the client is torn between two conflicting group loyalties, two contradictory definitions of the situations in which he finds himself. Seeking to resolve this covert or mental conflict he may make a number of relatively temporary, inefficient and unsatisfactory accommodations which seem at the time to afford both a partial satisfaction and social safety. Such "symptoms" as lying, delinquency, fantasy, perversion, over-compensation and the like illustrate the surface manifestations which may be further complicated by unconscious factors. Psychiatric analysis is necessary in such cases: the underlying motives must be unearthed and socially acceptable forms of expression discovered and utilized.

6. *Non-adjustment*: Capable individuals desiring to adjust in a socially approved way who are prevented from doing so by some temporary handicap or some environmental condition beyond their control, might be diagnosed as "non-adjusted." Cases of sickness in the family, threatening to disrupt that "unity of interacting personalities" which is the family, might fall here, as would also cases of unemployment, due to disorganized industry, which caused domestic crisis and discord. Relieving the condition in question would ease the social tension and would constitute the proper treatment.

7. *Re-adjustment*: Either independently or as a result of case work the client might effect a rearticulation with his group or social situation. This might

¹⁴ Warner, Queen and Harper. *American Charities and Social Work*, 1930, pp. 5, 266 and 338.

come about through sublimation, conversion to the previously unaccepted values and definitions of the group, or through a mutual modification of the individual's attitudes and the group's definition of the situation.

The above categories are not suggested as hard and fast classifications. Frequently a client may bear a different relationship to different groups. In such cases each readjustment constitutes a separate case work job. Furthermore, it often happens that an individual passes through several types of maladaptation before becoming eventually adjusted. Thus a child suffering from inferiority conflict may present certain delinquency symptoms ("Maladjustment"), and as a result of mishandling may ultimately become habitually criminal ("Unadjustment") and require treatment in a correctional institution and years of patient probationary work before being cured ("Readjustment").

Such a diagnostic classification scheme is not intended to replace the current psychiatric, medical, or psychological ones, but rather to supplement them, and at the same time afford a framework in social terms with which a multiple diagnosis may be made. For example, take the hypothetical case of "Joe Z." Joe, let us say is 17. He has committed a series of revolting crimes, and is finally apprehended. He is examined by the clinic cooperating with the court and found by the physician to be undernourished and syphilitic. The

psychiatrist discovers certain deep-seated grudges, and evidences of excessive suggestibility. According to the psychologist he is decidedly feeble-minded. The social worker discovers that he has no stable group connections, is an adopted child, a member of a delinquent gang, and that he is constantly being disciplined in the parochial school which he attends when he feels like it. The social diagnosis would therefore be "unadjustable," and the treatment indicated, institutionalization for the time at least. The psychological, medical, and psychiatric findings it would seem constitute equally important elements in the composite diagnosis, and treatment should of course be planned in the light of the multifold classification.

By way of conclusion, it should be pointed out that such a scheme for diagnostic classification may be applied in family as well as in individual case work. Maladaptations of the family may be *external*, i.e. of the family as a more or less unified group, or through a dominant representative member, to the community, or *internal*, i.e. involving conflict between an individual member and the authority and unity of the family as an organization. These are, as a matter of fact, merely special cases in the scheme of adaptations and maladaptation described above, and the same typical forms may be discovered, the group instead of the individual being considered the adjusting unity in the case of "external conflict."

THE SIXTH SEMINAR IN MEXICO

July 4-24, 1931

The Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, Professor Edward Alsworth Ross, Chairman, announces that the Sixth Annual Session of the Seminar in Mexico will be held in Mexico City, July 4-24, 1931. Membership in this "cooperative study of the life and culture of the Mexican people" will again be open to a representative group of North Americans.

A pamphlet describing the program of the Seminar may be secured from Hubert C. Herring, Executive Director of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, 112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y.

THE RELATION OF PRIVATE CASE WORKING AGENCIES TO PROGRAMS OF PUBLIC WELFARE

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PRIVATE case working agencies in all fields are faced today with a demand for service that far exceeds their present budgets. In determining how much of that responsibility they should assume and what can be expected from public agencies, federal, state or municipal, all the factors of community welfare must be considered. It is not merely a question of how many cases each agency takes. The implications of the situation include a broad concept of a sound and far-seeing program of public welfare. To say that intake must be decreased is not enough. To say that the widow, the unemployed, the aged, are the responsibility of the state is not enough. The case worker, the government, and the public must come together to determine upon a basic philosophy for the satisfactory working out of such problems and the building of a wise program in the carrying out of that philosophy step by step. With old age insurance, unemployment distress, mothers' pensions, public outdoor relief and the responsibility of the state for its children much upon our minds, it may be profitable to look back over the last thirty years to learn what has characterized the relationships between certain private case working agencies and public welfare programs. Perhaps we may save ourselves some false steps in the future.

To start at the beginning of the interrelationship between public welfare programs and private case working agencies would be too tedious. One may assume for the purpose of this discussion that some kind of positive relation between the two

exists. How that relation has changed during the last thirty years, what attitudes have existed on both sides, and what we may hope from the situations about us today comprise the scope of this paper. Further limitation seems necessary in considering only two kinds of private case working agencies—the family case work agencies and the child placing with some reference to the mental hygiene movement as it has affected these fields of case work. Only mothers' pensions and public outdoor relief are discussed at length in connection with the family case working organizations.

One calls to mind a chart which Miss Richmond once devised to portray graphically the general movement of social work trends. The ever-enlarging spiral as it progressed through the years wandered back and forth from group work to case work, to reform, to case work again. If Miss Richmond had followed that progress to the fifty-seventh National Conference of Social Work at Boston last June she might have felt as did Mary Ross and Paul Kellogg¹ that this year marked the turn of attention to group programs again. After the war the concern with governmental action sagged in conference programs. As Dr. Rubinow says,² "The last decade may be characterized primarily by an effort to substitute psychology and psychiatry for economics and social reform. . . . Man ceases being a statistical unit. He becomes a comprehensive complex of forces, all of which must be

¹ Mary Ross and Paul Kellogg, "New Beacons in Boston," *Survey*, July 15, 1930, pp. 341-45ff.

² Kirby Page, *The New Economic Order*, p. 164.

studied in an effort to increase the sum total of human satisfaction." At the Boston Conference, however, the three subjects most discussed were the industrial problems centering about unemployment, the problems involved in law observance and crime, and the effect of our post-war immigration policies as they related to separated families and our position among the nations. Forced upon our attention by the exigencies of the moment they present to the case working agencies issues too great to be tackled alone. What kind of help can they and should they expect to receive from and give to public welfare programs tackling these problems?

Epstein³ described in more detail the work from 1900 to the beginning of the World War as emphasizing two phases—(1) administering relief to the unfortunate, (2) "seeking by means of vital social reforms the eradication of the social and economic conditions responsible for distress and poverty." The social worker saw his job abolished either through the adoption of his program by the state or by the elimination of the causes of poverty altogether. Florence Kelley, Jane Addams, Owen Lovejoy, Julia Lathrop are names identified with the emphasis upon legislative reform. Edward T. Devine is quoted in his presidential address to the National Conference of Social Work of 1906 as saying,

I charge the managers and officers of institutions for the care of children with ignorance of causes which have led to the orphanage or the neglect of their wards. Are they on our hands because of essential vices and weaknesses of their parents or because they were victims of needless accident, preventable diseases or industrial exploitations? Most of all I am constrained to charge my brethren in the charity organization movement itself, which stands preeminently for analysis of causes and thorough investigation, with not

having at all appreciated the importance of the environmental causes of distress, with having fixed their intention far too much upon personal weaknesses and accidents and having too little sought for evils while might yield to social treatment for anti-social actions of other men, for which our cases are paying penalty.

That was the hey-day of the American Labor Legislation Association, the Consumers' League, the National Child Labor Committee, pure food laws, workmen's compensation laws, compulsory education laws and laws requiring minimum requirements for working certificates. Case workers with families developed the interest in housing and tuberculosis to the point where new agencies were established to cover these needs. The National Tuberculosis Association grew from such humble beginnings into a strong independent field of social work with its own technique.

The marked contrast between that generation in social work and the more recent one is indicated by Queen and Harper's addition to Warner's *American Charities*.⁴ Although Warner devotes two chapters to the superiority of private relief in the home, to so-called outdoor relief of public departments, and to public and private charities, the revisers define the techniques in the various fields of social work, discuss publicity and training for social work, but spend only a few pages in their chapter on coordination and supervision on the subject of relations of agencies to larger programs. Odum⁵ characterized this trend in social case work as "the tendency to develop the specialist and technician within the subdivisions of the field of social work." He mentions also other trends to develop "general leaders of community and society, trained

⁴ Warner, Queen and Harper, *American Charities*.

³ Abraham Epstein, "Soullessness of Present Day Social Work," *Current History*, June, 1928, pp. 390-95.

⁵ Howard W. Odum, *An Approach to Public Welfare and Social Work*.

in the technique of social leadership and development of personality."

The early points of view on private outdoor relief are presented by Warner. He is comparing the then current public policy of meeting need by institutional care with the outdoor relief policy when he says that outdoor relief is more kindly as the "poor person is not separated from relatives and friends, families are not broken up, receipt of relief is not as conspicuous nor as disgraceful as resorting to an institution." The help to the poor in their own homes is more economical as it supplements whatever income is available instead of depending upon the institution for the entire support, and finally, even though enough institutions were built to care for all the poor, it would be uneconomical because of the seasonal fluctuations in numbers. On the other hand outdoor relief, Warner feels, increases the number of applicants because "manifestly less disgraceful." He feels that the "amount of discrimination between cases" that is necessary makes it a method which cannot be used by the government for only as any work is "reduced to a routine and done in a semi-mechanical way" is it suitable for public auspices. Here Warner has articulated the point of view found over and over again. The public agency's function was thought of as limited to relief-giving alone and, as case work was considered a necessary part of the task, the public agency was excluded from participation. It was a long time before people began to think of case work as a possible function of the public agency as well as the private. Like Warner they feared that people would make a demand upon public charity as a right which they could not make upon private agencies and that politics would undoubtedly interfere with any plan set up. Besides employers would reduce

wages and depend upon public money to make up the deficit.

Warner elaborates upon the administration of relief by the state saying that it is "usable in proportion as it requires very large expenditures to which all taxpayers can properly be asked to contribute" and adds that such income can absolutely be depended upon no matter what the depression of the times. He is fearful that the lack of flexibility in the administration of public welfare may be harmful, a point at present illustrated by the fact that inadequate relief is so often not mandatory but administrative in origin. However, this handicap is somewhat overcome by the greater publicity to which a public agency is liable—an attempt on Warner's part to safeguard the proper use of money for the needy. Warner presents at the turn of the century many of the points of view still retained.

The need for state protection of private trusts was accepted by Alice Higgins Lothrop⁶ (then Miss Higgins) of the Boston Associated Charities when in 1909 she immediately fell in with the idea of government responsibility for social agencies and opposed the idea that "the government must needs be corrupt and private charity therefore in danger from its unclean hands." It was her forward looking understanding, according to her biographer, that led to annual state inspection of private charities and state inquiry at incorporation, in Massachusetts. Mrs. Lothrop was one of the first in the family case work field to stand behind the mothers' assistance movement when in 1912 she urged the extension of relief to mothers other than widows, and interpreted the money as public relief rather than pensions because "rearing of children

⁶ Robert Kelso, "Alice Higgins Lothrop, Promoter of Social Legislation," *The Family*, December, 1920.

is the duty of citizenship, not the gratuitous contribution to society giving rise to a privilege or claim to right." Most important of all, for those times, was her insistence upon adequate public relief "interpreted in accordance with proper plans for family rehabilitation." She was one of the few who differentiated between relief and case work and yet saw that the case work methods did not depend primarily upon whether the source of support was public or private.

Another point of view was presented by C. C. Carstens⁷ in his 1913 report for the Russell Sage Foundation on the existing systems of mothers' pensions in San Francisco, Kansas City, Milwaukee and Chicago. In general his arguments were that money given by public agencies would lead to unwillingness on the part of relatives to assume their proper share of the burdens and as they withdrew financially he predicted the weakening of family solidarity. Mr. Carstens was vehement in his condemnation of the work of the probation officers administering the fund in Chicago although his judgment was based upon rather arbitrary standards imposed by a small group of investigators. He felt that the law had not sufficiently safeguarded the administration of pensions and only the appointment of a voluntary committee had made possible the proper administration. Mr. Carstens feared that mothers' pensions would create a new class of dependents, and that the new idea of adequate relief, flexibility in the amount of relief, and the importance of service were possible only under the auspices of private agencies.

Unfortunately he neglected to emphasize one of the high spots in the early relation of private case working agencies to

the public departments administering mothers' pensions. When the mothers' pension law placed responsibility in 1912 upon the Juvenile Court of Chicago, it was the private agencies who weathered the transition period. Unlike the agencies in other states they saw that they could establish a standard of work for the Juvenile Court which would not depend upon the inexpert interpretation of a vague law by an inadequate staff of probation officers. They secured salaries for five and later twenty-two competent persons, and served on a voluntary committee which determined which cases had been studied thoroughly enough to be considered for pension. Mr. Carstens mentioned the poor quality of work represented in the cases which had to be sent back again and again to the probation officers for reinvestigation. He failed to recognize the effort these private case working agencies were making to educate the public in what an adequate case work job involved and to visualize for them the expense of a staff large enough and equipped to handle the problem. Later both these goals were attained and responsibility assumed completely by the public agency.

Sophie Irene Loeb⁸ in the 1914 report of the Commission on Relief for Widowed Mothers in New York State questioned the ability of private agencies to cope adequately with the burden of widowed mothers and children, even in such families as they accepted for care. The method of inquiry and the interpretation of findings were so biased by the point of view that state relief is the only remedy that one hesitates to place much value upon the report. There was no discussion of the case work aspect of mothers' pensions, a concern which the New York State plan has never included in its system, but con-

⁷ *Public Pensions to Widows with Children; A Study of Their Administration in Several American Cities*, Russell Sage Foundation.

⁸ *Commission on Relief for Widowed Mothers*, State of New York, 1914.

centration was placed upon adequacy of relief to families under care of private or public agencies. Mrs. Florence Kelley⁹ of the National Consumers' League was quoted in a speech, "Modern Theory of Charity," as saying,

In the interest of the whole community, private charity can not be allowed to monopolize certain necessary tasks which, in the nature of the case, it cannot adequately perform. This applies to maintenance in cases of families whose breadwinners are dead or disabled by diseases not probably due to industrial causes, particularly when there are children.

The Committee on Dependent Children¹⁰ at the New York City Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1913 was reported as stating, "So long as the private charitable societies alone distribute relief in the homes, many persons in need of aid will continue to suffer deprivation, rather than subject themselves to the humiliation of application and to receive assistance inadequate to their needs."

The New York Commission accused¹¹ private charity of minimizing relief to the point of inadequacy because of its fear of the harmful effects of relief giving and of forgetting the economic basis of poverty in its insistence upon service. The very flexibility with which relief was administered was interpreted as inability to formulate a common standard for the proper maintenance of family life. Relief in kind which was then a widely used method of distribution, was pushed aside as belittling the family's ability to spend cash and making more humiliating the acceptance of relief. In reply to the argument that state aid would cut off family and neighborhood help the Commission stated that such help usually came from those barely able to contribute, and that the dependence

upon such resources is much more apt to break down that family solidarity or neighborliness than to build it up. Both public and private agencies have now become aware of this latter danger, as described in Grace Marcus', *Some Aspects of Relief in a Family Case Working Agency*.

The Commission saw clearly when it claimed that "government aid would relieve private philanthropy of some part of its present overwhelming burden and thus release it to a field of activity more peculiarly its own."¹² Although the field is not defined one infers from the general tone of the report that this would be experimentation in the service end of the task. Dr. Rubinow¹³ has summarized the opposition offered on this occasion by the private agencies. They felt that private charity could and did meet the problem, and that their adequate funds could continue to do it more effectively. On the other hand a system of "governmental grants would be dishonest, demoralizing, ineffective, and unnecessary."

In the process of establishing mothers' pensions and other public relief for dependent families the various stands which the private societies have taken are significant. In New York City the agencies most harshly criticized in the above report did not handle cases jointly with the New York City pension board, neither supplementing relief nor doing any case work upon such families even though pensions in that city developed without any accompanying case work service. About 1924 the relationship between the public and private agencies changed and cases are now handled jointly. I. M. Rubinow¹⁴ in 1925 in defining the status

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

¹⁰ I. M. Rubinow, "Can Private Philanthropy Do It?" *Social Service Review*, September, 1929, pp. 361-94.

¹¹ "Child Care Through Family Agencies," *Social Forces*, III, 459-64 (1924-25).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

of family agencies in this movement stated, "It is the duty of social agencies and social workers to point out the inadequacy of legislative provision and also their duty to force organized charity to make such liberal provision voluntarily, so long as legislative provision remains insufficient." Dr. Rubinow was speaking for Philadelphia in which the Family Society of Philadelphia after having assisted the other social agencies in securing mothers' assistance, as it is called in Pennsylvania, had taken the position that only by refusing to accept any widows' cases could they force the state to assume the whole of its burden quickly. As Dr. Rubinow points out, social agencies are in a much better position to bring to the surface the inadequacies of existing legislation than isolated families, overworked and underfed widows would be. It is not the sum total of individual complaints but systematic investigation and agitation by organized social agencies which has given us such legislation as we have. It seems all the more important to keep this in mind when we appreciate in how few localities the case work aspect of widows' pensions is included in the present legislation. By demonstration, example, and stimulation the private agencies must keep the way open for the adoption of this broader concept of adequate care for families.

"Considering the necessity for a more conscious sharing of community relief responsibilities, we must recognize family social work under public auspices as a definite concern of the family welfare movement, and we hope that through co-operation between public and private agencies within the movement the group of public agencies may become more articulate in the development of recognized standards for themselves and for family

social work as a whole."¹⁵ Broader even than this, as illustrated in innumerable instances in the present industrial crisis, is the colossal task of the private agencies as interpreters of the community's needs. Social case workers have a real part in the machinery of modern social organization, although their method may not be the most important or most powerful alone in bringing about great changes.

The difficulty of raising adequate funds for the support of private agencies has shifted attention to the chest movement which since the end of the War has taken over this task in innumerable cities and towns. The emphasis upon broad social programs has lessened as the distance between the person in touch with actual conditions and the person responsible for raising funds has increased. The councils have attempted the continuation of interest in public welfare programs to a certain extent, while the chests have been limiting their efforts to money raising. From personal observation it would seem that the staff worker in the non-chest agency accepts direct responsibility for interpretation and for broader programs as a part of her training process. In the chest city, on the other hand, in spite of the theoretical acceptance of interpretation and improvement of general social conditions, the staff worker is not vitally concerned with either. She leaves that part of the task to the chest and becomes the skilled specialist.

The chests present a problem, however, in community responsibility. As Dr. Rubinow¹⁶ points out, when a single benevolent individual or a single agency

¹⁵ Unpublished and preliminary report of Committee on Future Program, Family Welfare Association of America, May 21, 1929, p. 39.

¹⁶ "Can Private Philanthropy Do It?" *Social Service Review*, September, 1928.

fails in meeting a need the client may go elsewhere while the failure of a community chest restricting the activity of all or some agencies presents the community with an unfulfilled promise. There is no place to turn if the agencies attempt to limit intake, the quality of service is questionable if the amount of relief available is spread thin, and there is a definite limit to the amount which may be allowed to accumulate in the deficit. If a city reaches the saturation point in giving and the needs are still unmet is it not time to look to public sources for an amount of assistance collected with the minimum expenditure of effort and excitement and unfluctuating in amount, no matter what the ups and downs of Wall Street or the activity of the local factories?

Robert W. Kelso¹⁷ of the St. Louis Community Fund in a paper at the 1930 National Conference of Social Work explained the position of the chests in the following way:

It is a necessary function of the Community Chest on its Community Council side to develop in its membership a thorough understanding of, and to interpret to the public an appreciation of the obligations of government in the field of social welfare. If there is no provision for outdoor relief of the poor, either by way of case work service through overseers of the public welfare or for relief of mothers with dependent children, the whole volume of relief is thrown upon the relief agencies in the community fund.

The result is a disproportionately large share of chest money assigned to relief agencies and even then their budgets not covering the demands upon them.

The Community Chest seldom does, but assuredly must, in the near future, establish a permanent front, backed by thorough study, and the marshalling of facts which organizes public opinion and citizenship influence to demand of government, the appropriation and efficient personnel for such services.

¹⁷ "The Community Chest and Relief Giving," *National Conference of Social Work*, 1930.

The most helpful material on this subject is to be found in the 1925 report of a committee led by Gertrude Vaile and working under the auspices of the Family Welfare Association of America.¹⁸ A questionnaire was sent to member agencies with 162 analyzed responses from 38 states and Canada, covering both actual and desirable conditions. The committee concludes that both public and private agencies for family social work are needed and they should be entirely distinct and independent of each other, with good team work between them. "If one should try to bear the whole weight constantly, it would be likely to give out at a critical time and when the other had not developed sufficient strength by exercise to catch the burden safely and surely. If it is true that each agency is dependent on the strength of the other it is also true that each determines the strength of the other by relieving strains the other is unable to bear and by placing the burdens the other should bear." While the division of work must depend upon the quality of work possible in each agency, the Preliminary Report of the Committee on Future Program¹⁹ (1929) of the Family Welfare Association of America suggests that where the public agency has reasonably progressive standards, a division of responsibility based upon the source of distress be made. "The public agency has the most natural responsibility for the type of distress which arises from a public or community economic ill, over which the individual family has no control, while the private family agency has a more natural responsibility for relief needs arising most directly from private family adjustments. Under such

¹⁸ *Division of Work Between Public and Private Agencies dealing with Families in their Homes*. Family Welfare Association of America.

¹⁹ Committee on Future Program, Family Welfare Association of America, p. 33 to 35.

a division the public agency will have plenty of opportunities for good case work but the private agency may have the more difficult case work tasks." How different is this approach from that of fifteen years ago.

Certain other leaders have emphasized other points in this relationship. Mr. Odum²⁰ feels that the many families brought to cities by industrial expansion should, when difficulties arise, be cared for by the private agencies supported by those who have profited by the growth of the city. If disintegration comes to our clients because of the fears and insecurity of economic pressure there are those who hold consequently that the agency best equipped to give assurance of continued unvarying amounts of assistance (the public agency in other words) is best able to handle such complicated problems of poverty. They feel that the steady income of a public agency and the confidence the clients put upon it have great weight. In any division of work care must be taken that chronic so-called hopeless cases already mangled by a private agency are not transferred to the public agency and the latter's standard of work later criticized when results are not successful.

Frank J. Bruno²¹ contends that there is no satisfactory relationship between public and private agencies except as coöperating personalities discover a method of working together. Such integration comes when all the experience and knowledge of the private agencies are placed at the disposal of the public agencies and a group works out case work policies. Again the private agency may promote the interest of

the public agency by protecting it against political spoliation and enabling it to maintain standards in the face of attack. Mr. Bruno even questions the great emphasis placed upon the opportunity of the private agency for experimentation. "The actual day by day work of private agencies does not differ so much from the duties of public officials except as there is possibility for some limitation of intake and the capacity for maintaining standards." General opinion would feel with Mr. Dow,²² however, that "Private charity is much more easily directed to something that is new, but after the work becomes familiar the interest (and support) is apt to die out." Legislatures on the other hand are not likely to grant appropriations for something that has not been shown to be of definite value and the vital concern of all tax-payers.

The private case working agency can be of assistance in improving the personnel of public service and maintaining such standards of salary, training, and equipment. It is hardly necessary to cite the appointment of Dr. Ellen Potter as Commissioner of Public Welfare of Pennsylvania, the position of Ruth Taylor in West Chester County, New York, the present gathering of workers for the New York State Old Age Security Fund from social agencies as examples of what a working relationship can mean. Too long there has been "contempt and even derision"²³ in the way in which these two kinds of agencies looked upon each other. An affectation of superiority on either side on whatever grounds is only a hindrance to the progress of public welfare. As some of our workers trained in the good case work agencies go into public depart-

²⁰ *An Approach to Public Welfare and Social Work*, p. 163.

²¹ "The Integration of Effort in Theory and Practice by Private and Public Agencies for Common Good." *National Conference of Social Work*, 1927.

²² *Social Problems of Today*.

²³ Charles Johnson, "Correlation of Public and Private Social Service," *National Conference of Social Work*, 1924.

ments without the loss of professional prestige, as we encourage them even and look to the operation of civil service laws, while at the same time we welcome workers from public agencies to share whatever the profession offers, these barriers will break down.

Ruth Taylor²⁴ believes that the aim of both agencies is the same, namely, good case work. The public agencies throughout the country are notoriously understaffed and overloaded and even where they visualize their task the standards they want to reach are swamped in the mass of work.

The public agent must adopt a higher degree of uniformity than a private agent to assure his public of his fairness, integrity and freedom from political influence. The private agency must work as part of the whole program to set high standards with their more flexible funds and to educate the public to demand high standards and increasing expenditures for constructive public welfare.

In conclusion one might say of public and private relief agencies that neither can live unto itself alone. By ceasing to be provincial each may help to advance the particular work of the other. Private agencies may be relieved of the strain of fund raising and inadequate budget to turn their attention to the development of new methods and concepts, while public agencies removed from isolation may be encouraged to attempt a type of case work along with their heavy relief burdens that approximates the best of the present-day standards.

The relation between private child placing agencies and the existing public welfare programs has apparently been quite different. Little has been written about the participation of these two kinds of agencies in a common field of practice

and yet coöperation and integration are quite clear. Perhaps the fact that legally the state has assumed the protection of the child through guardianship drew the public and private agencies in this field closer together in working for the welfare of individual children. When the first White House Conference was called in 1909 private child placing agencies were well represented among the group and the fundamental principles laid down in their discussions centered not only upon the extension of proper care for children but brought out the responsibility of the government for assuming that care.

Beginning with the establishment of the Federal Children's Bureau many of whose publications and investigations have dealt with child placing and the conditions under which it is undertaken, the private child placing agencies have stimulated the formation of children's code commissions, in several states even loaning executives and workers for the undertaking. There has been supervision by the state of both public and private child caring institutions, characterized by Dr. Ellen C. Potter²⁵ as necessary for "an orderly development of an effective program on a state wide basis which will eliminate overlapping and cover the entire field of child need with a minimum of expense." The quality of the supervision by state or local government still varies from the negligible to the best, but where it has been raised and maintained it has been with the help and encouragement of the best private child caring agencies.

There are states which, like Massachusetts, have set up their state child placing departments. Where they have been of high standards it has been because of the efforts of those in the private agencies. In the children's field there has long been

²⁴ "Integration in Theory and Practice by Private and Public Family Agencies for the Common Good." *National Conference of Social Work*, 1927.

²⁵ *Foster Home Care for Dependent Children*. Federal Children's Bureau, No. 136, p. 166.

an exchange of workers between public and private agencies. Specialized workers loaned by private child caring agencies to a non-socially staffed public agency serve to establish acceptable work standards, as in Alabama where for three years the Alabama Children's Aid Society did the actual work of home-finding and child placing and then turned it over to the state commission which had in the meantime been convinced of the value of such methods.

There have been workers who combined both public and private duties within their function, as for example, those of the State Charities Aid Association of New York State. So far as can be learned there has never been the criticism of this combination in the children's worker's task that has descended upon attempts to combine private family case work with the expenditure of public money as in the Iowa State plan.

Whatever the basis for this amicable relationship, and it may be the strong appeal of children for help, the result has been a more rapid development of programs for the public welfare of children over the entire country than for the administration of public relief departments. Dr. Potter,²⁶ herself head of a state department, gives us some standards for state supervision of children, which are, in part:

1. Supervision should be based upon minimum standards of excellence agreed upon in conference between the state bureau and representatives of the private agencies.

2. The state should utilize every available educational channel to create on the part of all agencies concerned a desire for and acquiescence in the highest minimum standards obtainable.

. . . .

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

5. State departments should be kept absolutely free from the taint of political control, and the staff of the bureau of children should be composed of individuals with personality, training, experience, and maturity, capable of rendering constructive service to any agency in need and in an emergency to any child in distress.

The same enterprise is evidenced in the activity of child placing agencies in the interests of the illegitimate child. Whatever constructive legislation has been passed has come through the attempts of baffled social workers with the unmarried mother problem, determined to protect the rights of their charges and to give them, handicapped as they are, every opportunity possible for normal development. Minnesota legally assumes the guardianship of every illegitimate child born in the state and has created machinery for administering the most careful protection.

Likewise in adoption proceedings the states have assumed supervision, unfortunately still too lax in many instances to mean much. As a legal process adoption has always had contact with some government agency. However, private child placing agencies are demanding for their own protection the establishment of a staff to investigate the conditions under which adoption is permitted and are convincing the courts that such a procedure is a necessary accompaniment of the legal process of adoption.

Mr. Barrow²⁷ summarizes the relationship between the agencies:

In general the public agency's job is to keep the community giving to its children the things which have been approved as good and to restrain the com-

²⁷ Ralph Barrow, "Interpreting Child Welfare Work to the Community." *National Conference of Social Work*, 1925.

munity from giving its children what has been proven bad. The private agency's job goes farther; it must keep the community hungering and thirsting after the newer things.

Both children's and family agencies have been responsive to the new movement in psychiatry which has developed so rapidly within the last ten years. There are conflicts in many case workers' minds as to what is the proper balance in their work between intensive analysis along mental hygiene lines and the demands for service by a larger group whose needs present many public welfare problems such as old age, widowhood, and unemployment. Psychiatrists have been, generally speaking, uninterested in social welfare programs. They have been concerned with individuals and, to a large extent, with a very few individuals whose particular problems challenged them. There are neither enough clinics nor enough psychiatrists as yet to offer adequate service and those existing are able to select their cases on the basis of scientific research without concern for the community at large. However, if one were to apply their method of intensive treatment of the emotional basis of behavior generally, an army of social workers and psychiatrists beyond the capacity of the public to support would be necessary. On the other hand, the approach and knowledge of the newer psychology is being taken into the case work field.

The case worker sees the possibilities of "an even better adaptation of the social setting to the needs of men. Along with the careful study of man, she must also investigate the nature of social institutions in order to understand their growth, organization, operation, and conscious redirection."²⁸ The adaptation of the

principles of the new psychology to social case work will only tend to sharpen the awareness of the case workers to the effect of environment in shaping the behavior of people. As these undesirable conditions are seen in their relation to the causes of maladjustment, efforts to remedy them through public welfare programs will increase. This is illustrated by the recent unemployment pressure in family agencies. Recognizing more clearly what unemployment means to the security of the wage earner and his family the case work agency is not only trying to tackle the individual's problem from angles other than that of relief, but is also a participant in all attempts to study the broader aspects of the problem to secure amelioration for all workers. Recognizing that unemployment relief in whatever form it is given is not a sufficient answer, the agencies want to present the other effects of being out of work to public and employers at the same time that their handling of individual problems is developed by a better understanding of the emotional life of the individual. As public programs are developed to handle these environmental problems the case worker's time is released for the treatment of personality difficulties.

There can be no one way of working out the relation of private case working agencies to public welfare programs. As the program offers complexities and variations in local set-ups, the ways in which progress is assured will be different. The important issue is to make certain that no sharp division of interest or method exists but that both kinds of agencies are part of the same process—the best and ever-changing approach to individual maladjustment.

²⁸ Harry Elmer Barnes, "The Social Basis of Mental Health." *The Survey*, January 15, 1928.

THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

This department is conducted by THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY CENTER ASSOCIATION, and is edited by LeRoy E. Bowman, Hudson View Gardens, 183rd Street and Pinchurst Avenue, New York City.

SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS AND THE TREND TOWARD SPECIALIZATION

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MANY competent observers today believe that the settlement movement has passed its prime. It did valiant service in its day, they say, but that day is nearly over; newer ideals of social service and more modern ways of doing things have made it seem a little out of date. And, indeed, in some ways the settlements have been losing ground. The raising of budgets grows yearly more difficult; many of our ablest board members are passing on to other activities; good workers are hard to get; and outstanding leadership is rare among the younger head workers.

There seem to be three main reasons for this state of affairs. First, conditions are changing: neighborhoods are shifting, immigrants are fewer, the poor become prosperous. Second, ours is a field in which it is difficult to show supporters the definite, quantitative results so successfully stressed by many agencies today. Third, we are carrying on miscellaneous activities in an age of specialization. It is chiefly this third factor that I wish to discuss.

Let us state the situation concretely. At a time when most social agencies con-

fine their activities to specific services to selected groups, the settlements are still doing all sorts of things for anybody who happens along. One by one the fields which we once occupied alone are being invaded by other organizations:—the city recreation center, the boys' club, the scout troop, the health center, the public bath, the visiting nurses' association, the nursery school, the library or museum story hour, the public evening school, the vocational guidance bureau—all projects either supported by the public or able to command financial aid by demonstrating concrete results to givers especially interested in their particular purposes. Settlements see that they cannot hope to compete with all these expert services today. We have had to choose between activities in order not to sacrifice minimum standards of efficiency. But we have not always realized that upon our choice depends the future of the settlement movement. We still have an opportunity to achieve a degree of unity and coherence in our program which it has never possessed in the past; but if we merely make opportunist adjustments to shifting conditions there is a real danger that the unique

contribution of the settlement will be lost in the shuffle.

Two types of opportunist adjustments are being made by settlements which are facing this situation. Some houses have contented themselves with offering their hospitality to other organizations in order to give them a working base within the neighborhood; such cooperation is most frequently extended to visiting nurses, scout troops, clinics and evening schools. Others have withdrawn from fields in which competition was clearly inadvisable and are themselves specializing in activities not as yet provided by other organizations or needing further experiment to demonstrate their value. Just now the emphasis of this latter group is on music, handicrafts, and health. Neither of these adjustments presents a permanent solution of our problem. If we give up more and more of our space to housing other people's activities, our own programs will soon lose what little coherence they now possess and we may expect to be dispensed with. If we develop our own limited specializations, we must either be prepared to transfer them to other auspices some day (as in the case of the health center) or expand them ourselves to a point where we must sacrifice our service to the whole child and the whole family. In one case we have the difficult task of building up solid support for a constantly changing program; in the other, the neighborhood house ceases to be a settlement proper and becomes just one more educational institution.

But, many will say, why bother with alternatives and readjustments? Why not now, as well as any other time, admit that the settlement's day is over, and let it pass, and turn to newer forms of work? That would be the wisest course if the settlement's significance did actually lie in its activities *per se*. But I cannot dismiss the

notion that this is not the case; and that if we were to let the settlement go we should find it very hard indeed to replace it. For the settlement does certain important things better than any other agency that has as yet been created. Contrast it for a moment with some of the others. It represents an art, as does case work, but in a different field: a creative art which deals not so much with the things that are wrong with people as with the things that are right with them, with the normal aspects of even abnormal individuals. It is to case work what the preventorium and the convalescent home are to the hospital. It differs from relief in that it represents a sharing rather than a giving. It differs from many specialized services in that it deals with the whole family and the whole individual. Like the music school and the art center it works to make good things common, but unlike them it operates from within the environment itself and can relate the lovely things of life to its practical, workaday aspects. Like social research it is constantly absorbing and making available to others a knowledge of conditions, but its contact with the means of remedying those conditions is often more direct. It may not be so much needed as formerly to foster relations between classes separated horizontally, but it will long fill a great need by bringing together people of differing opinions and interests and helping them to carry out their common objectives together.

Is it not clear that the very inclusive-ness of the settlement's program is a source of its peculiar usefulness? It could not replace one of the forms of social work just mentioned but it uniquely reinforces every one of them. Why not isolate the settlement germ in each of these activities and learn to specialize in that? It does not seem to me that the way out of

our dilemma lies in the abandonment of that part of the field which was peculiarly our own. Why not rather seek to specialize in an art which has always been close to the heart of our enterprise—the art of human relations?

Never before has enlightened public opinion recognized so clearly the importance of the problem of human relations or the degree to which it has remained unsolved. On the theoretical side definite projects, such as *The Inquiry*, have been organized for its study. The already famous Institute at Yale is not only bringing tremendous intellectual forces to bear on social problems, but it marks a new and significant attitude toward the very dilemma we have been discussing. It recognizes the fact that specialization in half a dozen fields of knowledge about people has reached a stage where the only hope of making efficient application of the principles discovered lies in specializing in the one element they have in common. But research cannot face this task alone. Its results must be tested and applied under normal conditions. Who better than the settlements can supply laboratory and workshop combined?

But, the settlements will protest, is not that exactly what we are doing—have been doing all this time? Yes, yes, very often, but always as a by-product. What we really have been doing is *Odd Jobs*, with plenty of human relations thrown in. Our first leaders knew that human relations were the heart of the thing, but they also sensed that the only way to work out such an ideal was through concrete activities. Then many of these activities were so desperately needed that they came to be regarded as ends in themselves. And so a sort of dualism has crept into the settlement philosophy, and we have been a bit inclined to play off one end against the

other. We have excused our failure to bring activities up to the highest standard of efficiency on the plea that after all human contacts were the settlement's main task; on the other hand we have sometimes expanded activities to a point where our members have quite lost their sense of a vital relation to each other and to the house. We have assumed either that our activities were merely the by-product of an ideal that gave them a mystical value not dependent on technique, or that they were ends in themselves, requiring the borrowing of techniques from other fields. The real truth is that we desperately need a technique of our own to make those activities the efficient *tools* of the ideal—a method, to be explicit, for helping each personality to realize all its capacities in all its social relations.

Suppose we look further into this question of technique, for it is vitally related to the whole problem of specialization. Because at first we were more interested in principles than practices, our attitude toward our work has always been a little amateurish; we have tended to depend on knacks rather than acquired skills. When the emphasis shifted to activities, and standards of performance improved, we found we had to borrow experts from other fields in order to hold our own. Specialization has been both cause and effect of deficient technique.

Our continued dependence on volunteer workers is an expression of the amateur side of our philosophy. Not only was the use of volunteers in the early settlements in accord with social work standards of the period; it seemed to be an essential part of the whole settlement idea, because it was the most natural way to bring together representatives of different "social classes." That purpose is little served in most settlements today. In the larger cities, at least, the "leisured

classes" are far too busy, and move from one part of the globe to another far too rapidly, to give systematic, continuous service to their "underprivileged" neighbors. Many formerly leisured people have found full-time occupations that absorb them. One such business woman, for many years a valued board member and volunteer worker, remarked recently: "One feels less keenly the importance of closer contacts with the lower classes after one has had them jumping down one's neck every morning in the subway!" That, alas, is true: we all know so much about each other nowadays that little glamour is left on either side. The volunteers who are left to the settlements vary greatly in education, background, and ability. Those who rank highest in these respects are least likely to comprehend the needs and attitudes of their groups, and few executives find time to give them the help and supervision that they should have. It is a temptation to use too frequently the loyal but half-educated young people among our own members, who know the ropes though they may lack perspective.

Modification of the volunteer system began fairly early. Paid executives became the rule before long, and for some years the larger settlements have employed "Directors of Boys' Work" and "Directors of Girls' Work" to supervise volunteers in clubs and classes. Nowadays these directors are likely to be college graduates, but they seldom have special training for their jobs; yet head workers and associate workers are most often recruited from this group. With the trend toward specialization, workers of a third type have been added to the personnel of many houses:—specialists in handicrafts, household science, physical education, health work, case-work, etc. Frequently these workers are non-resident

and paid by the period. If asked to state their profession very few, if any, would say that they were "settlement workers." (Our resident staff at East Side House last year included, beside the head worker, a household manager, a case worker, a musician, a physical education teacher, a specialist in immigrant education, a handicraft worker, a director of girls' clubs, and two "residents-in-training;" there were also three volunteer residents—a librarian, a nurse, and an expert in health education—; all these in addition to numerous non-resident specialists and assistants. Of us all only three paid workers and the two students described their occupation as "settlement work.")

That the trend toward specialization is a result as well as a cause of the failure to develop a characteristic settlement technique is illustrated by recent interesting changes in club programs. As volunteer club leaders become increasingly rare, and the results of their imperfect technique increasingly unsatisfactory to candid executives, clubs are being abandoned in favor of classes in charge of paid experts, most of whom would call themselves teachers rather than any kind of social worker at all. It cannot be denied that the resulting program is far more clear-cut and worth while than the kind of club work it has displaced, but if we had been training expert club leaders all this time, as we should have done, it would not have been necessary to pour out the baby with the bath.

For what could be a finer medium for developing an art of human relations than a settlement club? We have often said just that, but we have not backed up our boast because we have been using part-time, vaguely interested amateurs for a task that demands more wisdom, balance, insight, experience and finesse than any other in the settlement. The failures of

poor leadership could not be corrected by expert supervision even if we had it—and we haven't, with a few outstanding exceptions. Try to get at the average boys' worker's conception of his job, and you will find that he aims to rope into his settlement the largest number of self-organized groups it can hold, expose them to the "personal influence" of the manliest available volunteer leaders, teach them to behave like "gentlemen" or "good sports:" and work up plenty of the "pep" which shows itself in "snappy affairs" and support of inter-club activities. He may display considerable skill in playing off the ambitions of one gang leader against another's; but of the more subtle art of developing leadership in the down-trodden masses exploited by those leaders he knows nothing. The development of individual participation in the formation of group ideals, the making of group decisions and the creation of group projects—these are subjects he has not "had." Yet the practice of such techniques is essential to the real success of a democracy, and to the solution of the appalling international problems that confront us today. Many settlements have worked hard since the war to foster the *ideal* of international friendship, but what we need far more for the actual prevention of war is the *habit* of cooperation with people not quite like ourselves, often uncongenial, sometimes even hostile. No better field could be found than a neighborhood club for practicing this difficult art. A few club directors have found this out and are developing a technique; why ask them to depend on unskilled workers, when we spare no expense to secure only experts to teach pottery or music?

I do not mean to minimize the importance of pottery or music, or of the work settlements have done in opening new doors to the world of beauty for their

neighbors. On the contrary, I think we should do more of this. Every neighbor who comes to us should not only be given a glimpse of that world, but should have a chance to discover what his own gift may be for creating beauty. But that is quite different from undertaking as a permanent task the advanced instruction of gifted individuals. It is my own opinion that except for temporary demonstrations of the value of such advanced instruction, settlements would gain much in unity of program by confining class work to group projects organized with the two-fold purpose of discovering the potentialities of their members and helping them to find out how to work together.

I have been describing the kind of group organization that I believe should be one of the three main divisions in the program of a settlement specializing in human relations. It also is the soundest possible basis for the second part of the task—that of successful participation by the house and by its members in the larger relationships of the community. Impromptu "community organization" based on combinations and permutations of existing groups, frequently themselves undemocratic and often at war with each other, does not get at the root of the matter. The solution must be patiently worked out through the building up of genuinely self-governing groups and the development of many socially minded leaders. Vital neighborhood issues—not the mere clashes of cliques—must be skilfully utilized as reagents. Here again is a piece of work infinitely important to social progress and infinitely demanding of wisdom, experience, and acquired technique. It is a task, by the way, that the settlement pioneers have handled in the past with extraordinary success, through sheer spiritual force and insight; but before we can hope to solve the more complex problems

of the local community today we must back up such leadership by creating masses of followers who also possess a degree of skill in the difficult art of cooperation, as well as the conscious desire to cooperate.

There is a third type of human relation with which the settlement is uniquely concerned—that of the family group. As a home set down in the midst of homes, the neighborhood house clearly has an unrivalled opportunity to contribute to the understanding and solution of many problems of family adjustment which are just beginning to be faced by society as a whole, and to discover these maladjustments before their consequences bring them to the attention of the family welfare society. Normal family life is almost impossible in most tenement districts. There is seldom space at home for the healthy, relaxed activity of children or for satisfactory social intercourse between adults. There is rarely leisure for sympathetic contacts between parents and children. The cleavage between generations is often deepened by the essential difference in every detail of the American environment from that of the old country. These handicaps the settlement can help to overcome, not only by offering the hospitality of its wider roof, as in the past, but by making closer contacts with neighbors' homes than ever before and by cultivating confidential relations with parents as well as young people, with fathers as well as mothers. A few settlements have always done much of this, but it is astonishing how many have failed to do it. The Settlements' Study just completed by the New York Welfare Council reveals that, in the 17 houses whose membership was analyzed, the number of settlement members per family ranged from only 1.1 to less than 1.5. Surely we ought to be able to do better than that.

This three-fold task of cultivating the art of human relations in the family, the self-governing group, and the community surely presents matter enough to occupy the most elaborate of settlement programs. Various phases of it have interested most settlements more or less from the first. But what I am urging is that each settlement undertake the whole task, in its own way and under its own conditions, make every one of its activities a conscious means to that end and bravely lop off activities that cannot be subordinated to it. Thus at last we should achieve unity and coherence in the settlement's program.

And—we should possess a settlement technique belonging to us and not borrowed from half a dozen other fields. There are any number of things we ought to know in order to undertake this work, that most of us do not know now. Intensive knowledge of anthropology, industrial problems and standards of living, and a mastery of at least two modern languages should be pre-requisites for such training; perhaps we should add some foreign travel, now that it is so easily managed. Specialized training would involve actual practice under supervision in simple handicrafts, dramatics, group-games, folk-dancing and case methods, and a thorough mastery of at least one of these techniques. Thus a head worker could make up a staff with common viewpoints and interests, yet commanding among them the special skills essential to the program.

Even were such a unification of objectives as I have suggested to be generally accepted by settlements and a recognized technique developed we should not have to fear any sacrifice of the infinite variety which is the charm of neighborhood houses today. Programs will always vary as neighbors do. Some settlements would continue to stand by the most

helpless, poverty-stricken and unsophisticated members of the community; their problem would then be a simplification of program to a point where all might participate. Others would find themselves in neighborhoods at least temporarily more prosperous; they would experiment in sharing financial burdens and executive control with the neighbors, as several houses are doing today. Others would find racial adjustments their outstanding problem, and new types of program would evolve through them.

As to the fundamental difficulty of fi-

nancial support, many of us are now caught in a vicious circle:—mediocre program—indifferent board—mediocre program. But the very changes that are being forced on us by new conditions may break the chain. Then if we can once make our choice between standing pat on old tradition, making opportunist adjustments to changing standards, or visualizing a new task and going out to meet it, support will come that is not merely perfunctory, but born of imagination and a great desire to get things done that are truly worth while.

THE TREND OF SETTLEMENT ACTIVITIES TOWARD SCHOOL USE¹

CLARK MOCK

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I DON'T suppose the average head of the social settlement would consider his plant and equipment complete unless it included a gymnasium and auditorium or large room with a stage, and a playground, all of proper size and in good condition. The lack of any or all of these places a limit upon the useful activities that the settlement can carry on. Yet, if the Cleveland situation is typical of that which obtains in other large cities, the number of settlements which do not have all these facilities probably exceeds the number which do, and, with the marked shifts in urban population that have taken place in recent years and the consequent attempts of some settlements to shift with their people the lack of these facilities has become an increasingly serious problem.

Two ways of meeting this situation

have been open to the settlement: the purchase of land and the construction of new buildings requiring substantial capital investment and money-raising campaigns, or finding public or other gymnasiums, auditoriums and play-grounds that could be used. Whether the idea of using the public schools originated with the settlement house executives or was suggested by the development of the school community center activities I do not know, but that idea has been adopted in Cleveland with the result that last year eight settlements were using the facilities of the schools. These facilities included thirteen school gymnasiums, six auditoriums, five playgrounds or school yards, one swimming pool, one recreational hall, classrooms in two schools, school office of two schools, and other school rooms.

We shall probably deceive ourselves if we expect the schools at any time suddenly to throw their doors wide open to the settlement houses. We shall probably be no less deceived if we expect the

¹ Mr. Mock has made a careful study of the subject he here discusses and while the results of the study are not yet made public, the statement is made accurate and significant because of the author's knowledge acquired in his scientific inquiry.—*Editor*.

settlements to rush in and use all the school facilities that are available. The idea that schools are operated for educational purposes only still has wide acceptance in school systems. In Cleveland, where community centers have been established and operated by the Board of Education, this idea no longer carries great weight. But those who control our school system still regard its educational activities as being of primary importance and recreational activities as secondary. However, the recreational program is not as much of a side-show now as it has been in the past. Settlement houses, instead of limiting their use of the schools to occasional mass gatherings, athletic contests or dramatic performances, are now able to count upon more regular use of these facilities and to lay out complete programs in advance calling for school use.

In the past the idea has been widely held by school principals and accepted by other officials that the day and night schools had at all times the right of way in the matter of using school buildings and that other scheduled activities would have to step aside at any time when the "regular" school program required. Locally we have advanced considerably from this idea without taking away from the "educational" activities the precedence which they claim. Interference with the extension or after school use of the buildings has been curtailed and a 7-day notice of any change in plans involving extension use of the buildings is required. Before the day schools can use the building after school hours they, like the community centers and the settlement houses, must secure a permit from the Housing Department. A real effort is made to avoid any interference with extension activities which have been already planned and where such interference is inevitable an attempt is made to provide other accom-

modations for the inconvenienced party or parties.

Credit for this increasing recognition of the settlement house program in school buildings belongs not only to the settlement houses themselves but also to the community center department of the public schools. Whether consciously or not the school community centers have proved to be a valuable ally of the settlements. In securing recognition and a favorable hearing for themselves, they have helped to secure recognition and a favorable hearing for the settlement houses. Both have sought the use of practically the same kind of school facilities, at about the same time of the school day, and for a similar type of activities. In their efforts to secure such use community centers and settlement houses have faced many of the same difficulties and in solving these difficulties for themselves one has helped to solve them for the other.

There have been other limitations upon the use of schools by the settlement houses. Except for enterprises conducted jointly with the day schools, the buildings have only been available to the settlement houses late in the afternoon and in the evening; they have been closed on Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays and during vacation periods. The rules of the Board of Education which are based primarily upon the needs of the day schools have not always been adaptable to the settlement house program. In addition, the settlements have experienced some difficulty in maintaining adequate supervision of activities in the school buildings for the reason that complete control is not vested in the settlement house leaders but is shared with the school officials. Where school officials immediately in touch with settlement house activities have not proved sympathetic their attitude has been a further handicap.

These are some of the limitations and difficulties experienced by settlements located conveniently near to the school buildings whose gymnasiums, auditoriums or playgrounds they were using. However, as the settlement houses are located for the most part in the older districts of the city where most of the schools have no gymnasiums or auditoriums and in many cases inadequate playgrounds or school yards some of them have not been able to use the school buildings at all. The newer schools having these added facilities are usually located at a considerable distance from the settlements which makes their use difficult and sometimes impossible. In effect, therefore, the supply of these school facilities available to the settlements is limited and is not always sufficient to go around, es-

pecially with the community centers entending their programs.

However, there is good evidence to show that the settlements have not reached the saturation point in their use of school facilities. The community center programs are revealing to them additional uses that can be made—they are showing that more rooms can be used, that new activities can be carried on, that the cost of operation can sometimes be borne in part by those who take part and receive benefit from the activities. And, finally, the schools and the settlements are showing an increased willingness to work together, which is the best assurance we have that the difficulties will be ironed out and settlement use of the schools placed on an increasingly satisfactory basis.

THE DISTRICT SERVICE PLAN: AN EXPERIMENT IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF PHILANTHROPY

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PLAN AND PURPOSES

THIS paper is a summary of tentative conclusions reached through a study of the working of the District Service Plan, an experiment in community organization carried on by the Boston Federated Jewish Charities since the year 1917.

The District Service Plan was conceived and started about twelve years ago by Mr. Morris Waldman then the Executive Director of Federated Jewish Charities in Boston. According to the reports made by Mr. Waldman to the Executive Committee of the Federated Jewish Charities previous to the beginning of the experiment and according to the papers published by Mr. Waldman and by Mr. Taylor the Director of District Service, for the last

six years, this was to be an experiment in the field of community organization and an attempt at the democratization of philanthropy.

As a form of community organization the District Service Plan was expected to stabilize the Jewish community life on the basis of neighborhood cooperation and to concentrate the forces of the Jewish neighborhood around the problem of philanthropy. It was expected to effect an awakening of the interest of the Jewish neighborhood in the wide range of the civic problems of their district such as, health, sanitation, education, recreation and kindred matters. By entrusting the District Committees with the administration of the District Houses, with the dispensing of relief, with the responsi-

bility for carrying on and directing the work in behalf of the maladjusted and dependent in their neighborhood, the District Service Plan was expected to result in the creation of autonomous Jewish neighborhood communities conscious of their own needs and carrying on the philanthropic work on a broad basis of democracy. By giving the local District Committees representation on the central boards of the Federation, especially on the General District Service Committee, it was expected that the central leadership of the community at large would be continually and fully informed as to the rising and changing needs of the Jewish community of Boston.

The District House was to be the neutral place, where all the elements of the Jewish community, all the various and clashing groups, would meet. Here would take place a process of intermingling and interpretation of one group to another under the leadership of the community worker; becoming united through common interests and rejoicing in a common pride in their district they would form the ideal Neighborhood Community. A truly charming idyll.

In the field of case work the Plan, by entrusting the District Worker with the task of taking care of all the problems of broken down or maladjusted individuals or families, of making available to those in need the various resources of the community at large, there was introduced into social work the idea of the general practitioner. The District Service Plan aimed to save the dependent family from a multitude of contacts with the many agencies catering to different needs. The specialized agencies were to be used in an advisory capacity to the general practitioner or were to step in and handle special problems in conjunction with the caseworker.

THE PLAN IN OPERATION

The history of the District Service is not rich in changes. From the beginning District Houses were established in five sections of Boston, where distinct and separate Jewish communities existed. In these Houses the community work as well as the case work was conducted, sometimes even under the direction of the same person. District committees were formed to which men and women, representative of all walks of life and mostly living in the Neighborhood and supposedly interested in social problems were invited to become members. With the exception of one District no elections were held. The District Committees were promised that as soon as they became sufficiently acquainted with the modern methods of case work and with the aims and methods of the Federated Jewish Charities, they would be given the direction of the District Houses and of the work conducted there. In the meantime they were invited to take an interest in the problems of the neighborhood and to spread the knowledge imparted to them among the various groups of the community they were supposed to represent. The District Committees were not asked to participate in the yearly drives of the Federation nor were they asked to accept any financial responsibilities. Neither were they given an opportunity to share in the joy of hiring and firing the personnel, working in the District Houses.

From the beginning the members showed a preponderance of interest in case work and in discussing the various cases of relief. Soon special case committees were appointed to protect the dependent families from too much publicity. To speed up the work, the case committees consist of a small number of members. These became very active and interested bodies,

whereas, the District Committees soon began to suffer from a slackening of interest on the part of members, from a great turnover in membership, (one-third to one-half of the members dropping out yearly) and from a growing apathy towards the tasks assigned to them. This apathy could not be overcome by dropping at the end of each year the inactive members and bringing in new blood.

The District Committees never passed the stage of preparation and education so that real administrative power was never given to them and they still are in a transitory state. At their meetings information is given to them about the work done in the District Center and their advice is asked on problems concerning the neighborhood or on policies to be pursued in special cases.

From time to time the District Committees have achieved something in the community. One committee has brought about the establishment of a school center, another has fostered a playground; a third has been the cause of better park policing; a fourth has initiated a local District Conference of social agencies. But all this was done in a rather sporadic way.

These committees may be regarded as the real successful part of the plan. They are active and meet often to discuss relief and behavior problems. The workers bring to the case committees particularly problems in which community pressure is felt or anticipated. The members of the committee bring up case problems which were in one way or another occupying the mind of the neighborhood, and so give expression to the community criticism. The majority of the District Workers feel that the check of the lay-members of the Case Committee is a salutary one. The criticism of this group makes the paid worker aware of the limits of theoretical reasoning, to which she as a professional

may be inclined. It makes her understand better the reaction of the neighborhood, and the social environment of which the client is a part. A slowing down of the tempo which may result is fully compensated by the mutual education of the worker and the lay-member.

Still the case committee is not an inseparable part of the District Service Plan and can be maintained even if the Plan were given up. Neither is the idea of districting the city for the purpose of a more economic conduct of the work a feature to be found only here.

As far as the general scheme is concerned we doubt very much whether it served to produce the form of Jewish Community life expected. After twelve years of experimentation it is safe to say that there is not much satisfaction with the achievements of this plan in the field of communal organization. Even the friends and devotees of the District Service Plan are dissatisfied with its present functioning and seem to have grave doubts as to its potentialities. Why did the achievement of the District Plan fall short of the ultimate goal which was set?

CONDITIONING FACTORS

The District Service Plan is an experiment in social organization and as such affected first by the changes in the social environment in which it is carried on, second by the possible fallacies in the philosophy underlying the plan, and third by eventual mistakes in the methods of execution. From these three factors determining the outcome of a social experiment the first one, the change in social environment, has affected the District Service Plan in a most radical manner.

The District Service Plan was intended to organize the Jewish community on a district basis, to make these neighborhoods conscious of their local needs and

to inspire them with civic pride and devotion to their district. This has not been possible to achieve on account of the deep changes that have taken place in the economic and social status of Boston Jewry. These changes, a result of the economic development of the United States in general, were due to the progressive Americanization of the Jewish masses of America which is marked by their adaptation to the new economic environment, and by the acquisition of a greater knowledge of the country's possibilities, its language, and its social habits. All this made it possible for thousands and thousands of ambitious and energetic sons of Israel to give up the status of factory workers and peddlers and to occupy higher rungs on the economic ladder, in the "middle-class" of our society.

A migration of Jews to better and still better districts of Boston took place. This process was not a new one. It had been going on, though in a lesser degree, for the last thirty to forty years. But with the restriction of immigration no new masses came to take the place of those abandoning their former neighborhoods. The original Jewish districts where the Plan first took root were, once the shifting process began, depopulated of Jews who were replaced by other nationalities. New districts like Roxbury, Dorchester, and Mattapan sprang up. The District Service Plan tried to adapt itself to the new situation by emphasizing its activities in the new population centers. This, however, did not solve the problem. A community does not become crystallized when people coming in masses to live in a district, on the one hand still keep up their former connection such as the synagogues, schools, and social organizations, and on the other hand constantly look forward to moving to other more fashion-

able districts which promise a higher social status and richer personal contact, richer at least in the money-sense of the word. The fluctuating character of the Jewish population in Boston prevented a basic foundation of a neighborhood community, that is the identification of the individual with his district. Taking root in a neighborhood is a slow social process which requires time and fairly static conditions.

Another negating influence which served to interfere with the success of the District Service Plan was the trend towards centralization of the forces in every form of Jewish life in Boston. The attachments tended to become city wide in nature on the part of individuals rather than centered in District activities. It was the general American trend only somewhat more accentuated in Jewish life. The Roxbury or Dorchester people are mainly interested in the Boston Federated Jewish Charities and not in the special local aspect of this work in Roxbury or Dorchester. The social ambition of the leaders is seeking expression in city wide terms and not in limited terms of a geographical locality where they happen by chance to live.

The District Committees were expected to become the chief sources of information for the Federated Jewish Charities concerning the changes in the needs of the Jewish community. But the development of the Federated in the last 11 years was marked by a steadily increasing influence of the growing middle class on its managing boards. That group being in close contact with the life of the Jewish masses in Boston was well informed and alert to the changing needs of the community and was a good source of dependable information for their colleagues on the boards. Thus the District Committees lost their importance as *vox populi*.

The District House was intended to be the neutral forum where the different groups and factions of the Jewish population, at least their active leaders should meet, get to know each other, unite in pursuit of common goals and in case of misunderstanding to be interpreted to each other. But the Jew, like the non-Jew, looks for social contacts among his own set which is no longer limited to his geographical neighborhood. The changes in American Jewry brought about a situation in which the task of reciprocal interpretation was accomplished by forces in the Jewish life other than the district worker. Leading members of the labor group, who became wealthy manufacturers or leading professionals, belong today to fashionable golf clubs and charity organizations and maintain at the same time their intimate and active rôle among the organized labor or socialist groups. They are today the interpreters and correlating factors between the different groups of Jewry, fulfilling this task in a better way than District Service could ever do.

Besides this, the common task of helping the suffering brethren in Eastern Europe and building up Palestine brought together the different religious leaders and social groups of the American Jewry. The common effort results in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and an active interchange of opinion and ideas.

The District House was expected to become a "social center"—a center for social contacts and recreation. In this the District House succeeded to a certain degree. The small District Houses are filled to their capacity by children and adults of the neighborhood seeking recreation and are occupied by numerous clubs. Still the odor of "philanthropy," prevalent in the District Houses, known as centers for relief work, seems to keep numerous people away.

In this field of "socials" the District Houses also met the keen competition of many other Jewish institutions. Even the synagogue, in its over-zealousness to adapt itself to the American environment that it might not lose its hold on the younger generation, has developed a broad program of recreational and social features.

The various lodges and organizations, even the socialist and communist parties, trying to overcome the growing indifference of their devotees, seized upon "socials" as a means to conserve the waning loyalty of their following.

The last but not least task of District Service was to develop a local Jewish leadership. It seems to us that the dynamic character of the Jewish race made this superfluous. Jewish life seethes with leaders of all kinds and types. Only a fraction of this leadership finds its way into political life, with the result that other interests are well provided with wanted and unwanted leaders. I do not mean to say that these leaders do not need a good deal of education and that there is no place for improvement. But it seems to me that the District workers do not on the average possess the attributes necessary to influence and to educate the Jewish leadership.

SUMMARY

The belief of Morris Waldman in the necessity or even possibility of having in a city like Boston, Jewish District communities based on purely geographical limitations was not sustained by the result of the experiment. It seems that the growing forces of Americanization dissolved the typical ghetto-clusterings in the American cities and rendered less unsurmountable the barriers between the various social groups. It seems as if the intensive process of organization and differentiation

on bases non-geographical in nature which is going on in the Jewish communities and which gives them the aspect of constant flux, makes a city-wide community organization more suited to unite and control the social forces, be this for purposes of charity or for anything else. The success of the city wide Federation in the field of Jewish social work seems to bear out this statement. It may be added that the District Service experiment would seem to indicate that it is extremely difficult to reconcile the principle of neighborhood autonomy with that of centralization as expressed in a Federation of Jewish charity.

It also seems to us questionable whether national or racial groups should be organized for the purpose of taking care of the civic matters of a district. The Jewish districts are seldom or never purely Jewish and it seems to us that the Jewish population is more inclined to participate in general non-sectarian civic organizations having such purposes, than to make these civic tasks a concern of their specific Jewish organization.

The failure of these committees to become rallying points for the Jewish population in districts which abound in organizations of a political, religious or cultural nature seems to indicate that philanthropy does not hold this central position in Jewish life, which Mr. Waldman and his followers were inclined to ascribe to it.

The radical changes in the Jewish life of Boston and the shortcomings of the philosophy underlying the District Service Plan may fully explain its limited success. Still for the sake of historical truth we must point out some of the methods used in execution of this plan, method which may have some effect on this limited success.

The District committees were not asked to participate in the yearly campaigns of

the Federation which financed them. Neither were they asked to take over financial responsibilities of any kind. Was not an unsurmountable barrier to real participation thereby created on their part in the fate of the District House, a participation that comes from the acceptance of final responsibility for leadership, policy, and finance? Did not such a severance from financial responsibility express a patronizing attitude, and might not the result be pauperization of the District?

The District committee members are not elected but chosen and invited by the District worker or by other members of the District Committee. Now we do not believe that mechanics of democracy always ensure its spirit. Still does not the entire neglect of democratic formalities like elections lead to a lack of interest on the part of the masses and their leaders? Would not elections create a release of energy and interest that would be highly beneficial to the activity of the District Committees?

The District committees never knew exactly what their functions were. Maurice Taylor, the Executive Director of District Service, says: "What are our functions and more especially what are our powers, are the questions constantly asked. The whole scheme being an experiment and in a state of flux it has not always been possible to answer these questions satisfactorily." But is it possible to create an interested leadership without having clearly defined either their functions or the power granted to them? Does not this to some degree explain, why the labor and the orthodox groups, both interested in power and influence but not greatly interested in case problems and philanthropy, have left the District Committees or remained indifferent to all the invitations to partici-

pate in them, or why the District Committees come under the dominating influence of charitable ladies interested primarily in case-work?

CONCLUSION

The District Service Plan seems to face radical changes which may be the result

of the survey made of the Federated Jewish Charities in Boston during the last months by the Bureau of Jewish Social Research. Whatever its fate in the future perhaps we may believe that it was a worth-while experiment in progressive democracy. Mr. Morris Waldman and the Jewish community in Boston deserve every praise for having conceived and conducted it.

BLOOMINGTON-NORMAL, A STUDY IN COMMUNITY INTEGRATION

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BLOOMINGTON and Normal, two cities of central Illinois, 125 miles southwest of Chicago, in the heart of the Illinois corn belt, constitute the material for this study. In 1920 Bloomington had a population of 28,725 and Normal had 5,143 persons credited to it. The combined population of these two cities (33,868) in 1920 constitutes slightly more than 48 per cent of the population of McLean County (70,107) of which they are a part. The census for 1930 gives Bloomington 30,910 and Normal 6,765—thereby showing for the decade an increase of 7 per cent for Bloomington and of 31 per cent for Normal. In comparison with the 48 per cent of McLean County's population in 1920 the combined population of these two cities in 1930 constituted 52 per cent of the county's 73,093 people. Thus it might be argued that the population in the principal county of the Illinois corn belt has become urbanized.

Bloomington is now the eighteenth city in size in Illinois. United with Normal its ranking would be advanced to fourteenth. A half century ago Bloomington ranked much higher among the cities

of the state. The population relative for Illinois secured by dividing the population of 1920 by that of 1870 is 255. The relative for McLean County for the same period is 130.

Bloomington, on its present site, came into existence during the late thirties of the last century and while not as old as Vandalia, Cairo, and other southern Illinois towns, nevertheless it feels that it has traditions of age, of wealth, and of family connections.

It has almost an Atlantic coastal plain pride in its distinguished sons, among whom is David Davis, one time United States Senator and justice of the United States Supreme Court. Then there is Adlai Stevenson, once Vice-President. More recently the town furnished Carl Vrooman, a crusading gentleman farmer who served as assistant secretary of agriculture in the Wilson era. The town also claims Louis Fitz Henry, a Federal District Judge sitting at the present time. Then, too, there is Jesse Fell, a land speculating, cattle trading, tree loving Quaker who came to Bloomington from Kennett Square (near Philadelphia) to make his fortune, to help in founding the

Normal University, in laying out the town of Normal, and in making plans which helped in the nomination of Lincoln in 1860. One of the principal streets in Normal is now named for him. One also finds the Funk family, which began with Isaac a century ago. The modern representatives of this family are Eugene, an extensive producer of seed corn, and Frank—in turn state senator, congressman, and gubernatorial candidate in 1912 on the Bull Moose ticket. Soon after coming to live in Bloomington one comes to learn of Joseph W. Fifer, now a virile man of about ninety years of age, a private in the Civil War, who was elected governor in 1888, who now talks fluently about Lincoln. His daughter, Florence, is now serving her second term in the State Senate—she being the first woman to be elected to a state senatorship.

These persons do not constitute the entire social picture. The Merwin family, intermarried with the Davis family and owners of the *Daily Pantagraph*, should be included. Campbell Holton, genial, smiling wholesale grocer, whose coffee roaster last year turned out some three million pounds of coffee, must not be omitted. Ready to help in every community project, he has expanded his fortune on the strength of the reputation of his goods. Other persons, too, because of their wealth and influence or because of their community consciousness, might be included in the group of important citizens.

There are no natural boundaries separating Bloomington and Normal. The dividing line is the center of Division Street, located only twelve blocks from Court House Square—the center of the Bloomington business district. The natural boundary of the two towns, if one were chosen, would be three blocks farther north—at Sugar Creek. By this

shifting of the boundary no fewer than a thousand of Normal's population would be transferred to Bloomington.

An examination of the two cities reveals that Bloomington is more typically American than Normal—largely because it has in it a greater variety of peoples. Among the older elements in the Bloomington population one finds more than a scattering of Jews, Germans, and Irish. The Wochner family dominates the American State Bank, before the War, the German-American Bank. The Klemm family, owning one of the leading department stores, came from Germany, while the Livingstones, who own the most exclusive department store, are German Jews. The present mayor, who is serving his second term, bears the name of Rhodes. Men bearing such Irish names as Donovan, Cleary, and Barry are active in city politics, while Brennan is chairman of the Democratic Central Committee, "Charlie" Kane is in the state legislature, and even the Republicans have an Irishman, named Dunn, as their county chairman. Fred Olsen is in the city council, while the Petersons and the Johnsons are in abundance.

West of the Chicago and Alton tracks, near the railroad shops, one finds an area of isolation, dominated by Irish, Hungarians, and Italians. Here an Irish Catholic Church and a community house minister to the needs of the people. This area is much more striking in its isolation from the down-town Bloomington business section than is Normal. The isolation has been evidenced, in part, by two studies that have been made—one of Y. M. C. A. members in the two cities and one of the residences of Bloomington school teachers. The Y. M. C. A., in a city that is eighteenth in size in the state, claims the third largest membership of any "Y" organization of the state outside of Chicago. Of

the current membership of practically one thousand there is not a single adult member from west of the tracks. There are, however, about a dozen boy members, most of whose memberships consist of participation in summer camps. A considerable percentage of the "Y" membership, however, resides in Normal. Not one of the school teachers of Bloomington lives west of the tracks. On the other hand there are no fewer than a dozen of them living in Normal.

Almost all of the thousand Negroes of Bloomington live on the western side of the town, east of the Alton tracks. In addition, there are several hundred of them living in Normal, practically all of them each of the Illinois Central tracks. The Negroes have been well received at the Y. M. C. A., largely, no doubt, because of the ideas which Harry Melby, the secretary of the "Y," holds on interracial relations.

Bloomington has a variety of churches—three Catholic, three Methodist, three Christian, two Lutheran, and one each of Presbyterian, Presbyterian-Congregational, Baptist, Episcopalian, United Brethren, and Unitarian, together with several Negro churches and a gospel mission on the west side near the tracks. The city has an active Y. W. C. A. which provides the conventional programs of activities, together with a well patronized cafeteria. The Salvation Army seems to carry on an aggressive campaign. Two years ago the city experienced a "rebirth" through the instrumentality of a hair raising revival, engineered by some of the local clergymen. Since that time two other revivals have been held. Edwin Palmer, pastor of the Unitarian Church, was the only clergyman of the city last spring to come out openly and work actively for the retention of the publicly owned power plant, which, when the vote was taken, carried

in every precinct of the city and carried the city by three to one.

In Normal there is a considerable tendency toward "holiness." However, David Felmley, for thirty years president of the Normal University, espoused in their turn free silver, free trade, opposition to entrance into the War, and industrial democracy. In Normal the newcomer is likely to receive a number of invitations to attend specific Sunday schools. There is an eagerness to know whether one "belongs" to this or to that organization. "Good people" abound and some preen themselves on the fact that Normal has never had any saloons. Not until a year ago did the city council repeal the anti-cigarette ordinance, thereby bringing the town one step nearer to the Bloomington mores. The pastor of the Christian Church is prominently connected with the state organization of the Anti-Saloon League. The ministerial association seems eager to detect heretical utterances on the Normal University campus. Within recent years a senior's oration in a literary contest was provocation for some sermonizing in answer to the boy's disbeliefs. More recently than that protests were registered with the Normal University administration concerning the utterances of a visiting lecturer when he made some true statements concerning the history of the Christian Church. Within recent months a number of people were considerably stirred when they came to the campus to hear Clarence Darrow. However, one faculty member of long standing reports that one would not be obliged to teach a Sunday School class unless one really wanted to do so. The last signs advertising Klan meetings appeared three years ago. Briefly, we may say that Normal is nearer to being 100 per cent American than Bloomington.

In the fifties when Jesse Fell, Simeon

Wright, and others were attempting to establish a teacher training institution in the state they brought pressure to bear upon the legislature. In addition, they placed the towns of central Illinois in competition with one another for the location of the school. Peoria and Bloomington were the chief competitors, with the result that Bloomington, being able to raise more money than its competitors, secured the school. The act of the legislature whereby the school was created, specified that it should be located within three-fourths of a mile from the junction of the Chicago and Alton with the Illinois Central, the junction having been effected two years before and was known as North Bloomington Junction.

The settlement at Normal came into existence, therefore, as a result of the establishment of the school. Even after a town government was established, the town remained, until after the beginning of the present century, a muddy village with board walks and no modern conveniences. About twenty-five years ago, with the election to office as mayor of Normal, of O. L. Manchester, who served for five terms of two years each, the town began a program of street paving which converted it into a municipality which resembles a modern city. The town life for several blocks about the college is dominated by rooming house and boarding house proprietors, who, quite obviously, have the philosophy of using the student body for the profit that they can make out of them.

Since the town has been dominated almost wholly by the life of the college, the faculty of which is more highly mobile than other vocational groups, there are no families in the town that dominate the social life as in Bloomington. In fact the slight increase in conflict which has developed between the two towns during

the past few years might be explained on the basis of a defense mechanism, arising out of a consciousness that Normal has nothing to offer except the facilities of the teachers' college.

In one typical block in Normal there are 24 householders and three vacant lots. This is a relatively new block, with about one-half of the houses having been built during the last five years. However, with the exception of the blocks immediately adjoining the University campus, it is typical of any city block in Normal. These 24 householders consist of six faculty members, five business men of Bloomington, three general agents whose territory is central Illinois, one field agent for religious education, one retired clergyman, one railroad mail clerk, one retired farmer, three who manage their farm lands, one tradesman, and two men who have small businesses in Normal. This seems to indicate that the dominant economic interests of Normal residents centre in the Normal University and in the business life of Bloomington.

Bloomington, being a county seat town, has in it the group of lawyers and officials that one would ordinarily find, together with the trust company business that accompanies probate courts. For a city of its size there seems to be transacted an unusual amount of insurance business. Bloomington is the home of the State Farm Mutual Insurance Company, a relatively young automobile insurance company, that claims to do business in thirty states and which has recently moved into its new eight story office building. In addition, there is the Great States Life Insurance Company, still in its infancy but destined to do an extensive business within a decade. Several smaller home offices, together with a large number of insurance agencies, complete the list of insurance businesses. Bloomington is the

headquarters for the state organization of the American Legion. It is the home of the Meadows Washer, of the Williams Oil-o-Matic, and the Williams Ice-o-Matic. It is the home of the Public School Publishing Company, reputed to be the second largest publishing house for educational texts in America. The Chicago and Alton Railroad shops are located there. A year ago a count was made showing that the Alton workers and their families constituted more than eight thousand of the population of the two cities. In addition to the shops, the Chicago and Alton has Bloomington as a division point and many train crews are retained here. Since it is the "hub of the hard roads of Illinois" and since it has excellent railroad facilities, it is the center of a large jobbing and wholesale area. Illinois Wesleyan, with about seven hundred students and a growing prestige established through its music school as well as its prowess in athletics, is one of the several advantages that Bloomington offers.

By way of contrast with Bloomington's industries, both as to variety and extent, Normal has a nursery, which is only one of several in the community. Within the past year Normal lost to Bloomington, because of the latter city's better shipping facilities, a young but rapidly-growing publishing house, which grew from a small book shop to the attractive business that it now is. Thus we see that Bloomington is the center of economic dominance in the life of the community.

That there is no community program of recreation seems to be quite evident. The commercialized forms are well developed, however. Bloomington has a struggling second division team in the Three I Baseball League which now, to the satisfaction of many fans, plays night games. Two or three public dance pavilions are available in the town. The city of

Bloomington has employed a police woman for the supervision of these centers. There are the ever-present miniature golf courses—two in Normal and at least four in Bloomington. One moving picture organization, the Publix Theatre Corporation, controls the three principal moving picture houses as well as the one theatre which can be rented for public meetings, which is used by the Community Players, and, until last season, had been the center for the few productions of the legitimate stage which passed through Bloomington. The Fell Avenue Playground, sponsored by Bloomington business men who live in Normal, is the only supervised playground in the two cities. It is open only two months of the year. Miller Park, on the southwest side of Bloomington, is an estimable city park, with facilities for boating, swimming, picnicing, together with a relatively excellent "Zoo." Occasionally in this park band concerts are given.

The people of Bloomington, whether they have wanted to do so or not, have given the impression that they are patrons of the arts. An active garden club sets standards, offers prizes, and generally stimulates interest among the amateur gardeners. The community theatre, which produces four or five meritorious productions each season, does an artistic piece of work. A creditable, well-patronized and city supported library is one of the city's assets. A highly controversial forum, with ten seasons to its credit, and with an annual budget of about twelve hundred dollars, operates every Sunday night in the Unitarian Church from December to April. The public high school must be stimulated by an unusually fine and well housed Catholic high school. The annual productions of the Passion Play, during the Easter season, under the direction of Delmar Darrah, constitute

attractions which bring people to Bloomington from great distances. The Amateur Musical Club presents a series of professional and amateur programs during the winter months. Galli Curci, Cecelia Hansen, Edward Johnson, Gigli and Martinelli are a few of the many artists who have performed in the barn-like Coliseum during the past few years. Residents of Normal are active in and contribute to all of these activities.

When we consider the community organizations we find a marked evidence of integration—of activity and of membership. While many Normal people attend the musical attractions in Bloomington, many Bloomingtonians come to the Normal University to attend lectures and recitals. At least six residents of Normal are members of the Bloomington Rotary Club, the present president of Rotary living in Normal. There are other Normalites who are members of the Kiwanis Club as well as of the Young Men's Club. Some Normal women are members of the Bloomington Woman's Club and at least one-third of the membership of the College Alumni Club, an organization of seventy men, consists of Normal residents. Quite a number of Normal residents have been or are now directors on the Y. W. C. A. Board. At the present time two residents of Normal are members of the Y. M. C. A. Board. A resident of Normal has been president of the Community Chest during the past two years. Another resident has been president of the Bloomington Woman's Club for two years. In addition, various literary clubs recruit their members from the two cities.

It is significant that the two cities are joined by a common interest in the form of a Joint Sanitary District. Some residents of Bloomington are members of the Maplewood Country Club, located within the city limits of Normal. Many residents

of Normal avail themselves of the facilities of the municipal golf course located on the south side of Bloomington. The cities are tied to one another by two railroads, by two trolley lines and by a bus line. Main Street, East Street—University Street and Broadway—Clinton Boulevard—all fully paved, tie the two cities to one another. Illinois Route 2, extending from the Wisconsin line to the Ohio River, and Route 4, extending from Chicago to St. Louis, pass through the two towns.

The citizens of the two cities seek the services of the leading non-Catholic hospital, located in Normal within two blocks of Division Street. The two cities cooperate in a community chest, including ten agencies, two of which are located in Normal, with the more powerfully entrenched ones, the three hospitals, the Y. M. C. A., and Y. W. C. A., and the Boy Scouts not participating. Last fall the chest succeeded in raising some \$33,000 of their \$40,000 budget.

Under its present condition of development Normal possesses many social limitations. The residents of Normal are obliged to go to Bloomington for many articles which they purchase. Consequently any conflict that might develop will have to be created artificially. Normal has no moving pictures except those that are provided not oftener than once a week at the Normal University. With considerably more than six thousand population, Normal has no public library. Its residents who want books must seek the Bloomington library and pay two dollars a year for the service. Normal has no taxicab service except that which is supplied by the Bloomington cabs. Normal has no hotel and if any persons planned to organize a service club in Normal it would be impossible, with present facilities, to find a place to feed the members.

Although the weekly *Normalite* has carried a caption of "Normal 10,000 by 1933," nevertheless the town has not become the beneficiary of a five and dime store, although it has three chain groceries, much to the distress of the "Home Owned" stores. The two towns are supplied by the services of the same telephone exchange, by the same gas, electricity and ice service, and by the same laundries. The majority of people in Normal use milk distributed from the Bloomington dairies. People who live in Normal must go to Bloomington for express train service, since only three local trains, each way, on the Chicago and Alton, stop at Normal within twenty-four hours. Normal has one transfer company with limited facilities as compared with the several large organizations in Bloomington. One could buy some clothes in Normal but he would scarcely think of buying a suit or an overcoat there. Besides all of these factors Unitarians, Episcopalians, Catholics, Christian Scientists, Jews, Lutherans, and United Brethren are obliged, if they want attendance at the church of their denomination, to go to Bloomington for services. The two banks in Normal have combined resources of approximately two million dollars while the largest of Bloomington's seven banks has resources of four million, with each of two others approximating that amount.

Bloomington and Normal maintain separate governments. The Normal Fire Department has been known to respond to Bloomington fires. Bloomington water has been turned into Normal mains to meet an emergency and Normal water has been diverted to some sections of Bloomington. However, during the past three years certain developments have taken place which would lead one to think that conflict is more evident than formerly. Several factors, all of them residing in

Normal, contribute to this. The first is the *Normalite*, a weekly journal, printing articles of an emotional nature on the extreme necessity of having Normal maintain its separate identity. The *Normalite* seems to practice rural, weekly methods of journalism in a community which has rapidly taken on many urban characteristics. The second factor is the Chamber of Commerce, of which John Goodwin, real estate and insurance agent, is president. The Chamber, quite distrustful of the Normal University crowd, has unsuccessfully tried to induce farmers in the nearby territory to trade in Normal. It has been active in encouraging opposition to joining with Bloomington in their recently developed impounding project. The third and least of the three factors is the provincial viewpoint of many of the Normal people, voiced by a recent mayor of the town. The fourth and least noticeable factor in conflict is the Normal Post of the American Legion, organized two years ago, after considerable opposition had been exercised by the Bloomington post. At the present time all external evidence seems to indicate that the two posts will operate quite amicably toward each other. The fact that Normal has a small Masonic temple is of little significance due to the fact that there are several Masonic lodges in Bloomington. However, when it is noised about, as it is, that Bloomington's population increase during the last decade was only 7 per cent while Normal's was 31 per cent, one can understand that Normal's few business men think they have reason for believing that Normal will take a boom.

Certain business developments in Normal during the past two years have tended to increase the friction between the towns. One of these was the establishment in Normal of a dairy, another of a small furniture store, and another of

the opening of an automobile agency. Still another was the reopening of a small hardware store.

The chief source of conflict at the present time arises from the water question. Until recently Bloomington used well water and Normal continues to use water pumped from deep wells. About four years ago, however, twenty-five men, at least three of whom were residents of Normal, organized the Bloomington Water Company with a nominal capitalization. The water company was thought to be necessary because of the limited bonding power of the city. The company built an impounding project which will furnish Bloomington with an unlimited supply of soft water. While the well water of Normal is much harder than the impounded water of the larger city, nevertheless the Normal city council, supported by the Chamber of Commerce, asked the voters last summer to approve of a bond issue of \$25,000, the proceeds of which are to be used for enlarging the water system. The proposal carried by a big majority of more than five to one on August the eleventh. In this project the people of Bloomington have been quite passive. The Bloomington city council has offered to meet the Normal council for a discussion of the question, but the Normal representatives refuse to be contaminated even by a joint session. An offer to

let Normal residents have a free trial of Bloomington water for fifteen days has been turned down by the Normal council. The people of Bloomington and their prerepresentatives are maintaining a mode of behavior in this question which is not antagonistic and which is destined to work for the advancement of the single community.

It is fair to say that while the developments of the past three years have had in them greater evidence of conflict than was previously experienced, nevertheless there are many indications of the prevailing tendency for one community, rather than two, to survive. It would not be an extraordinarily wild prophecy for one to predict that within another decade the two cities might be united under one city government. At least it is fair to say that this community, in spite of having 17 per cent of the community's entire population within the city limits of Normal, shows the minimum amount of conflict that could be found among cities similarly located. The *Bloomington Pantagraph*, within the past six months, has suggested editorially that Division Street should be renamed Unity Street. Any effort to combine the two cities under one government would naturally be opposed by all of the forces of special interest which are now stimulating conflict.

ECONOMISTS' TRIP TO RUSSIA

Because of the interest which has been expressed in the visit of Professor Henry R. Seager, of Columbia University, and his party to Russia last summer, plans are being made to organize a similar group to go to Russia during the summer of 1931. This party will meet in Berlin on July 6, 1931 and spend five weeks in Russia, visiting the industrial centers, financial institutions, schools, courts, workers' clubs, cooperative farms, museums and places of historical interest.

Anyone who is interested in joining this party should communicate with Roy H. Mackay, Columbia University, New York City.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF CITY MISSIONS

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THE ECOLOGY OF CITY MISSIONS

METROPOLITAN areas represent fairly well defined community boundaries. Each section of the city attracts a specific group of people with definite sets of culture traits; the millionaire, the middle class, and the poor select or drift into locations appropriate to their economic and social status. While it is not an absolutely impossible situation, yet it is exceedingly rare to find the extremely wealthy group mixing ecologically and socially with those who are below the poverty level. There may be slum district next to a "gold coast," but the two worlds have unmistakably rigid dividing barriers. People know and find their "place" and confine themselves therein. Invasions from the upper stratum to the lower are uncommon; the reverse is customary, but even then it comes gradually, imperceptibly, as a result of many painful experiences and well developed techniques.

There are differences between the locations of missions and churches, just as there are between residential sections and business districts. Missions enclose themselves within specific localities whereas churches become widely distributed throughout the city. The down-and-outers, the hoboes, the tramps, the destitute, the poverty-stricken, the waifs and the astrays, the fugitives and the refugees congregate together. They compose a *lot-conscious* group and as such seek satisfaction for their heterogeneous needs within a city crevice. As a rule it is an abandoned business section which, disrobed of its past glory, has passed into the hands of struggling small land-owners. Pawn shops and loan offices, second-hand clothing stores,

small and cheap lunch rooms, sometimes wholesale houses of little importance, hotels of questionable reputation, and furnished rooms conduct their hand-to-mouth business. It is "Hell's one acre or two acres" where derelicts of all descriptions come. A variety of marginal social welfare agencies squeeze themselves into this crevice. "Salvation" is offered to the "hopeless" and sometimes to the hardened. Free meals, free clothing, free doctor, free bath, and free salvation can be offered only to people of this type who feel at home in such an atmosphere. No down-and-outer, no "charity girl," no bootlegger would go to the exclusive Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregationalist, or Christian Scientist churches, Roman Catholic Cathedrals, or Jewish Synagogues located on the fashionable boulevards of a city; instead, they flock into the Faith Missions, Salvation Army quarters, Gospel Armies, Union Missions, etc., in order to satisfy their immediate needs. All these welfare agencies function within a small area for the benefit of a distinct clientele. Thus in the oldest section of a city there develops an *interstitialized* area wherein Missions rise, prosper, and continue their life cycle.

FACTORS IN THE ORIGIN OF CITY MISSIONS

A group of social welfare agencies which are styled as missions will be found in every urban community. It is rather difficult to fathom the exact causes for their origin. From place to place, time to time, and mission to mission immediate and remote causal factors may differ. However, in the analysis of any member of this organizational species the presence of the following three elements are evidenced: (1) dominant religious beliefs; (2) prevalent

humanitarian attitudes; (3) an imposing personality.

Since the institutionalization of religion, people have endeavored to regulate human conduct through exhortation and preaching. The more conventionally religious the social milieu the greater is the premium put upon the efficacy of this medium of rehabilitation of so-called anti-social persons. Every city mission attempts to function as an independent agency in this capacity.

Today it is the rule rather than the exception to find a group of enthusiasts in any community who wish to parade their altruistic, humanitarian inclinations. Such persons seek an outlet for the exuberance of their emotions and style themselves reformers, uplifters, philanthropists, etc. What they actually seek is not the reformation, the rehabilitation, or even the salvation of the objects of their charity. Of such aims they speak vociferously, but in reality they are craving self-satisfaction through the thought of having done something for the "underdog." There is a definite group of people in every metropolitan community who clothe this tendency in the garb of religion. They advocate certain religious values, they use religious terminologies, they make religious appeals, and they present religious results.

The connection between the religious duties and the economic status of these humanitarians is so interpenetrating that the determination of their respective fields is arbitrary. Those who attain economic prosperity develop a typical religion of self-confidence, strength, and general superiority. They consider themselves as the elect in a given community and pose as the captains of wealth and prosperity, as the protectors of the religious interests, traditions, folkways, and the religious heritage in general. On the other hand,

the poor, the weak, the unemployed, the dependent, the neglected, the handicapped and the hopeless become so succumbed that they engender a religion of defeatism, a religion of *inferiority* for themselves. It has been the burden of every age to devise means to bridge the gap between the economically successful and the hopelessly failing groups. Hence, religion, institutionalized or otherwise, has been utilized as an efficient tool to bring harmony between the two. In spite of the fact that these two groups either directly or indirectly rub elbows in every community in our industrial system, they live in two radically different social worlds. Only through the medium of the pulpit,¹ is the attention of the economically powerful group invited to the lot of those who have failed. A reconciliation between them is suggested by making the *first group the donors* and the *second the recipients of charity*. This is a democratic move, indeed, highly tinged with religious convictions and precepts, endorsed and practiced by the religious adherents of many ages. While the attempt has failed to equalize possessions and opportunities it has been quite *assuasive*.

The third element entering into the picture, namely an imposing personality, is common and well known. Both humanitarianism and religion, as culture complexes express themselves through human personalities. Some of these personalities gain recognition in the sight of others by projecting the wishes, the desires, the aspirations of both parties concerned. They become the mouthpieces of the donors as well as of the recipients. Consequently they develop a technique in manoeuvring

¹ Since the development of machine technology and through the facilitation of communication, the function of the press in this connection has been increasing. Meanwhile, the pulpit still retains much of its former prestige.

men on both sides of the fence. Consciously or unconsciously they serve as social lubricants in reducing the possible jars of social friction. Any person with "a heart as big as a box car," with ability to stand before a crowd² and willingness to preach to them concerning the "bread of life," "the water that quenches," "the life that redeems" etc. can function in this capacity. The city missions have no difficulty in finding such persons to promote the interests of their respective organizations. These leaders remain true to the meaning of the term, namely, they wear masks in playing the rôle according to the exigencies of the situation. With the strong and the wealthy they plead in behalf of the "down-and-outer;" with the "down-and-outer" they renounce the possession of worldly goods. These imposing personalities become *symbols* for both parties. They champion the cause of the one talent men, the less privileged, the unfortunate, which requires self sacrifice and self-renunciation. Everybody cannot do this. Those who do it must be devoted to a *cause* higher than themselves. The down-and-outer cannot do it because he underestimates his potentialities; neither can the economically successful do it because it is easier for him to pass through a needle's eye than to renounce his material possessions. Here is a definite function to be performed which neither the recipients nor the donors are willing to fulfill. The city mission leaders, therefore, assume the rôle.

UNANTICIPATED RESULTS OF CITY MISSIONS

Social welfare agencies of any description justify their existence by virtue of the service they render to the community.

² As a rule, the personality of the component members of such a crowd is disorganized, and any scheme which attempts to reorganize it, even temporarily, is thoroughly appreciated by the hopeless.

Missions, as welfare agencies, profess certain functions, but there is a great difference between the profession of a function and its proper discharge. Many of the missions come into existence to "rescue the perishing" rather than to offer spiritual salvation to the lost. Hence, in certain metropolitan cities they are engaged in such activities as relieving unemployment, checking crime, preventing disease, providing emergency relief, giving immediate relief, caring for transients, sheltering homeless men, etc. Such services rendered gain large numbers of these missions high status in the sight of the public as well as of their clientele. In accomplishing these services, however, the missions invite the bums, the tramps, the vagrants, the hoboes, and the criminals into the city where they can have some "grub" and a "flop" by singing "hallelujahs" or by listening to infantile yet fervent sermonizing. The calloused senile, the experienced middle-aged, and the initiate youngster flock into these missions because they are sure of getting something for nothing, or at least next to nothing. In this capacity missions serve as adjuncts to city jails, and by keeping the worthless element in the population they foster pauperism.³ By rescuing criminals they increase the social risk in combating this co-called anti-social group, and because of the prevalent unsanitary conditions in most of them, the health menace becomes evident. Consequently, those who can endure the existing conditions at these missions frequent them, and while they are there the tendency to refuse to work becomes so natural that a definite philosophy of loafing is fostered.⁴

³ The charge of pauperization has been frequently brought against the missions by the other social agencies in the city, by the police department, the Judges, and certain civic organizations.

⁴ Some missions have inaugurated the "work test" scheme, which does not yield the anticipated results. Theoretically speaking, the "work test" is a self-de-

Thus, in the process of "rescuing the perishing" it is alleged that they cause the perishing of those who might have been rescued. This is perversion, for it shows the abandonment of their original aims and the substitution of an altogether opposite one.⁵

The following phenomena, which may readily be seen by studying some of the missions in any up-to-date city, also bear witness to the perversion of their original aims: the concentration of attention on the crowd; the struggle for a big mob at the services and meetings when visits by the donors and guests are anticipated; reveling in large numbers, such as the number of meals served per day, the number of converts, the number of garments distributed etc.; misleading advertisements; unfair rivalry with other missions as well as with other social welfare agencies; lack of cooperation in community enterprises when it is against their personal interest; solicitation of undeserved privileges; placing stress upon appearance rather than real deeds; the falsification of facts, etc.

Furthermore, missions, perhaps unintentionally, have tended to harbor a group of human beings who are determined to live upon the earnings of others. They exist because of the exuberant sentimentalism and perhaps the religious fears and the other worldly anticipations of their congeners. The clientele of the missions specialize in the mechanics of getting along with the least amount of effort possible. They drift with the current and remain contented with things as they are. These men lose their original capacities to function as independent, self-reliant, self-main-

taining persons. They become parasitic; some permanently so, others only temporarily. In either case they reap without sowing; they live without functioning in so far as the host is willing to supply their modest needs; but as soon as the host fails in "delivering the goods," they pass on to another host in the same city or in another community.

Not only the clientele, but in a sense even the missions become parasitic. They live because others make them live. They *earn* not; they simply *collect*. Everything pours in and everything is consumed, yet they produce not. Community Chests may feel this, yet realizing that some will cut out their donations unless these missions are supported, endure the consequences and maintain the status quo.

MISSIONS AS SOCIAL SYMBOLS

Another unpredicted result of the city missions is their *symbolization and idealization*. Man is a symbol-using animal. A flag, a cross, a photograph may not possess intrinsic values, yet they are not less venerated, admired, defended, and if necessary fought for.

In the general culture complex of city life, it is impossible for the average man and woman to ignore the "ugly" aspects of modern civilization.⁶ Poverty, filth, disease, crime, fatigue, destitution, exploitation, and submersion present a dark picture. Those who see these conditions, however, are so absorbed in the realization of their immediate and personal objectives that they have neither the time nor the patience to devote a fraction of their life to the amelioration of the situation. Consequently, any person or organization which assumes the duties of amelioration becomes *symbolized*. As long as humanitarian sentimentalism and certain religious

fense mechanism on the part of the missions replete with rationalizations. Perhaps no mission ever contemplates enforcing the "work-test" one hundred per cent.

⁵ E. A. Ross: *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 230-32.

⁶ Ralph Borsodi: *This Ugly Civilization*.

beliefs survive, those who approach the problem from these angles are hailed as the dischargers of a "sacred duty" and the protectors of society against increasing social ugliness.

City missions may not accomplish what they are supposed to accomplish; they may not be what they have pretended to be; they even may pervert their original objectives. On account of these conditions the social welfare organizational milieu may decry them; the professionally trained men and women may denounce them; even the police department may show its teeth against them. Meanwhile, in the mind of the public, the missions *stand for something, something unfulfilled*, to be sure, yet machinery instituted for its fulfilment. Regardless of whether in reality the missions check crime, relieve unemployment, prevent disease, succor homeless men, it suffices that they stand for the consummation of these ends. They are the *symbols* for the realization of such goals. It is better to be deluded through symbols than to go through this terrestrial life with a "guilty conscience" for not having made the attempt towards amelioration!

Thus, missions become projections of the wishes, the desires, the hopes of such people who have subscribed themselves to a set of values embodied in the real or imputed objectives of missions in general. By supporting the missions the suppressed wishes of the public find an indirect outlet. The mission stirs up their "humanity," their responsibility towards the unprivileged. The leader of the mission becomes their *Cinderella*, because, while they are engaged in the processes of making money, he or she is trying to salvage men. As such, the leader deserves all the possible encouragement and tangible support. Even the hard-headed business men who are so *impersonal* in their dealings with others in business, become exceedingly

personal with the leader of a mission. The secret of this personal attachment must be sought in the fact that the leader assumes a *symbolic* meaning for them; he or she stands as a *symbol* for the realization of far-projected wishes. The whole emotional and the affective nature of these people become systematized around a compounded object: the mission and its leader. Out of this evolve sentiments, and it is sentiment, built around a *symbolic* structure that creates a response in the so-called public-spirited persons. An alloy of the sentiment of admiration with the emotion of sympathy tend to *idealize* the mission and its leader which is a social-psychological result in the life of its supporters.

MISSIONS AS A TYPE OF WELFARE AGENCIES

In view of the above phenomena, it is evident that missions function as soothing, assuaging, and symbolic social agencies. They satisfy the projected wishes of their heterogeneous adherents and supporters. The down-and-outers get their meals, clothing, lodging, shave, bath, medical care, and salvation either freely or at the lowest possible cost. To this extent, the clientele of the missions become *reconciled with their lot*. After all, fate is not so bad for them; in such missions she smiles invitingly whereby despondency, as a social irritant finding an outlet, pacifies the so-called social dregs.

From the point of view of the public also, the soothing effects of the missions are noticeable. To whatever class of society the contributor to a mission may belong, he has a firm conviction that *some good is being done* to the less fortunate, and perhaps to the "lost." By visiting them once a year, by listening to the "gospel messages" occasionally, by contributing a few mites for the cause, the more or less isolated city inhabitant feels himself one with the fold. While the industrial sys-

tem represses his emotions, he finds an outlet through the song, praise, and testimonials of a band around the corner. Even if he never crosses the threshold of a mission house, he enjoys vicarious satisfaction by contributing to such organizations.

As for those closely identified with the missions, by virtue of their interest and large donations,—financially or in actual service—the gap between the "elect" and the "depraved" is bridged. Wealth, in part, is used for social purposes. Transcending crass selfishness, they revel in their altruism. Assuming that the deserving poor are succored, salvaged, and saved through their generosity, a feeling of eased conscience, a sense of satisfaction ensues. This is equally true of the directors of the missions, the trustees, the superintendents, and the workers alike. It is emotional liberation of the imprisoned "social conscience."

Whether it be clientele, workers, donors, the public at large, without exception they contribute their share to missions because of the consolation and gratification received from their acts. The essen-

tial motive of the behavior is rather individualistic: each person does it for his own sake whether admitted or not, yet no one can deny the satisfaction derived from this self-regarding behavior. Consequently the whole mechanism reduces itself into the principle of *outlets* for certain repressions. Hence, the missions, by virtue of this fundamental function, consciously or unconsciously discharged, may be denominated as a *social release* type of welfare agency. Whether this type exists for the realization or religious or other aims, its primary function is to produce *social katharsis* in which symbolization and idealization play important rôles. Individual missions may differ in organization, structure, and administration, but their fundamental psycho-social significance remains the same; they are instruments of *social release*; they console, soothe, assuage, and pacify through the liberation of certain repressions. No metropolitan population could bear the pressure in modern times without the city missions as a safety-valve. Their present social indispensability remains unquestionable.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS CONGRESS

A world industrial relations congress on "SOCIAL ECONOMIC PLANNING—The necessity for planned adjustment of productive capacity and standards of living" has been announced by the International Industrial Relations Association (the I. R. L.), whose membership in 29 countries includes industrial executives, labor leaders, industrial relations consultants, economists, bankers, and others actively concerned with "the study and promotion of satisfactory human relations and conditions in industry."

The congress, the first of its kind, will be held at Amsterdam, Holland, during the last week of August of this year. It is being called at the direction of the Council of the I. R. L., which is made up of four members from each nation, including individuals from the threefold groupings of management, labor and the social sciences. All proceedings will be conducted in English, French and German. To insure complete freedom of expression it is announced that all participants in the congress will speak as individuals, not as representatives of their nations or of the various groups with which they are affiliated in their respective countries.

The call for the Congress was issued jointly from the main office of the I. R. L. at The Hague and from the office of the vice-president in the United States, Miss Mary van Kleeck, Director of Industrial Studies, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY*

Contributions to this department will include original articles, reports of conferences, special investigations and research, and programs relating to marriage and the family. It is edited by Ernest R. Groves of the University of North Carolina, who would like to receive reports and copies of any material relating to the family and marriage.

SOME PSYCHIATRIC VIEWS ON MALADJUSTMENTS IN MARRIAGE

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IT IS probably no coincidence that the difficulties of adjusting to marital relationships increase profoundly with the complexities of man's advancing social development. Indeed, it is conceivable that the very forces responsible for goading man to ever higher and more elaborate levels of civilization may ultimately defeat their purpose by making adjustment to marriage (at least, as it has been known in the past) so difficult as to cause collapse of the whole social structure. In a primitive society where cultural growth remained static, or at best advanced only when the entire communal unit was ready for advance, this adjustment was not so difficult, for the foundations of such a society were embedded in a homogeneous community where each member of the group shared, to a considerable degree, similar beliefs, likes, dislikes and taboos.

Psychologically, this placed a premium

on the subordination of self- and individualization which permitted conformity to tribal *mores* without undue protest. Human relationships, particularly those necessitated by marriage, were thus kept relatively simple and uncomplicated, for time had succeeded in so conditioning the two sexes as to preclude the genesis—or at least the expression—of seriously tangential interests.

But as civilization and social development proceeded apace, man became more individualized. No longer was he so completely dominated by the group of which he was a political, economic or social unit. Bit by bit he dared to think and act more independently. Bit by bit he found courage to want to be less similar to others and, at the same time, more different. In a word, he began to be aware of the effects within himself of a self-will, as well as a social-will; and in the satisfactions of

* Although there was never greater attention given to the problems of marriage and the family, there is at present no scientific periodical devoted to their discussion. The journalist is invited by newspapers and popular magazines to exploit the widespread interest in matrimonial and family experiences, but aside from *The Family*, which is adapted to the needs of the social worker, and the child-study magazines, there is no publication that stresses the research and interpretation of the scientist.

The appearance of an ever increasing number of books treating problems of marriage and the family reveals the interest of the serious student and suggests the need of offering opportunity for the publication of scientific articles. This department of *SOCIAL FORCES* aims not only to provide space for such articles, but also to encourage the scientific study of marriage and the family.

this new-found knowledge, despite the inevitable feelings of guilt that resulted from every indulgence of his self-will over the protest of his social-will, he was not slow to seek opportunities for developing individualistic traits and attitudes. Since that time, man has continued to become ever more individualized, and although much of the rise of our modern culture undoubtedly is due to the results of this individualization, it also has caused the adjustment of human personalities to each other to become an increasingly difficult procedure. What, therefore, has been a gain to civilization as a whole paradoxically enough proves to be something of a loss to the institution of marriage, as witness the perennial concern displayed by portions of the modern community over the disruptive forces that appear to menace marriage.

It is at this point that differences of opinion begin to be observed respecting the nature of these disruptive forces. One special group in the community would have it that a deplorable lessening of man's appreciation of spiritual values is responsible for the increase in overt marital maladjustment. Another places the blame on a disquieting disrespect for the legal sacredness of maintaining a contractual partnership obligation, come what may. Still another group is convinced that the disruptive forces in marriage are to be found almost entirely in the ethnic, intellectual or cultural differences between husband and wife.

Probably each of these contentions is partially correct. But now comes yet another group—a smaller, less powerful group—which believes that, superficially correct as they may be, these contentions fail to go deeply enough to explain the truly fundamental nature of the forces that tend to disrupt marriage. This last group is made up of psychiatrists who are com-

mitted to a search for basic motives in endeavoring to explain or to control human behavior. They have learned in their quest that things are not always what they seem; that surface motives for the acts of men cannot always be accepted at face value; that true motives often are hidden and deeply disguised. And so, rather hesitantly, the psychiatrist, when asked for his explanation, suggests a new and somewhat different approach. He points out that in consonance with those tenets of dynamic psychology that postulate a multiplicity of motives for human behavior, most students of marital maladjustments have discarded earlier genetic concepts based on efforts to resolve all of the elements present into a single problem, with a single motive, to be attacked from a single approach, according to the legal, moral or philosophic bias of the observer. Instead, it is now widely recognized that modern students tend to view marriage difficulties as complex situations composed of many problems—differing both qualitatively and quantitatively—and requiring the use of a variety of approaches for satisfactory and permanent solution.

This new concept indubitably frees the question from many of the fetters of narrow thinking that formerly encased it, requiring modes of attack to be limited to fiercely-advocated and solitary issues. But with accretions of still newer knowledge comes suspicion that perhaps some, at least, of the many problems that find expression in marital maladjustment do have a common denominator, after all. The development of this premise, as well as the hope that it may constitute one more contribution to the many already made toward a wiser understanding and management of such problems, is the sole *raison d'être* of this paper. The author is under no illusion that the common denominator believed to be present is valid

for all problems of marriage difficulty, nor does he offer the idea as a panacea. He also is aware that many other psychiatrists will not share his views with regard to this rather special theory. He is convinced, nevertheless, that the premise is susceptible of proof, at least pragmatically, and that its application to those particular problems of marital infelicity for which it is adapted will constitute a valuable aid to their solution.

It is proposed to apply to the analysis of certain marital problems some pertinent aspects of the will-psychology theory of Otto Rank. Rank believes that much of the maladjustment between humans, whether in marital or other relations, finds a basic cause in a disparity between the participants' "self-will" and their "social-will." He likens the self-will to a centrifugal instinctual force impelling the individual in the direction of *difference* from others. It is essentially a negative, destructive force. The social-will, on the contrary, he compares to a centripetal force, impelling toward a cohesive *likeness* to others. This constitutes a positive, constructive force. When too great a disparity or imbalance arises between the self-will to be different and the social-will to be similar, then follows neurosis as an objective manifestation of the mental conflict thus created. Inability to make a satisfactory adjustment to a marriage frequently—but not invariably—is recognized by the psychiatrist as a symptom of some underlying neurosis in one or both of the partners. Being merely a symptom, therefore, the therapeutic attack should be directed against the cause as seen in the will-struggle, and not merely against the external maladjustment.

The crux of the matter, therefore, would seem to be reduced to the fact that as men and women become more highly individualized through indulgence of their self-

wills, the contractual restraints and subordinations to marriage and family life become proportionately more irksome. It is at this point that the moralists will assert that if this is the basic reason for certain marriage disharmonies, the correction is simple. Merely insist, they will urge, that husband or wife curb their self-will; become less selfish; give freer rein to the development of their social-wills, and all will be well. The psychiatrist joins sincerely in the wish that the problem could thus be simplified. He realizes, however, that self-wills and social-wills are not particularly susceptible to direct conscious control and that exhortations to unselfishness and tolerance may fail because the participants in most marital maladjustments are in the grip of unconscious forces stronger than they are. Consequently, reconciliation between warring self- and social-wills in an individual proves difficult or impossible by the mere exercise of conscious and conventional "will power" alone. What is needed, instead, in many cases is trained assistance in effecting a program of emotional re-education that will reach the roots of the matter in the unconscious part of the individual's life.

On the basis of this theory of will-psychology, new light is thrown on numerous marital as well as other problems of human adjustment. For example, arrayed on the side of the self-will are pulls toward aggressiveness, the desire to seize and retain power, self-expression, the urge for freedom and isolation. On the side of the social-will are found the opposites of these: pulls toward submissiveness, the desire to bestow power on others, self-denial, restraint of impulse, and, above all, a need for emotional attachment and dependency. Therefore, unless a healthy equilibrium between these opposing impulses is attained, maladjustment is inevi-

table. A commonplace illustration of this is found in the universal recognition that too great an absence of common interests, likes or dislikes in husbands and wives augurs ill for marital happiness. In these cases it is clear that an excess of self-will has produced such a measure of individualization as to preclude the development of a satisfactory unity of feeling. But it is not so widely recognized nor so clear that too great a similarity of interests, likes and dislikes may be equally ominous. Cavendish Moxon has interpreted Rank's views on this matter in an exceptionally able way. "Nobody doubted that marriage is endangered," says Moxon, "if the parties are too far apart in space or in feeling. But hardly anyone realized that there is a greater, because more hidden, peril to marriage, if the parties are too emotionally close and dependent. Nevertheless, it is psychologically inevitable that if one overindulges the (social) will to be attached, one dangerously stimulates the (self) will towards severance. And the more developed the individual's social-will becomes, the more certainly must this craving for excessive unity be followed by a desire for divorce—psychological and spatial—if not legal severance. . . .

One, therefore, should feel just as guilty for excessive emotional attachment to husband or wife as for excessive aloofness. Too much dependence is the death of love, just as surely as too little."

Clinical confirmations of this theory are not difficult to discover. One has only to recall the many instances of husbands and wives with similar or practically identical temperaments, reaction patterns and vocations, or with strong needs to emotionally depend on each other to the virtual exclusion of everyone else, who find themselves, after a brief period of marriage, falling prey to a growing irritability.

This irritability, usually ascribed to superficial or to cleverly rationalized causes not infrequently is due to a degree of emotional attachment and dependency, which, by its very strength, lights up dormant impulses to disunion in protest at such threats to individuality. The objective manifestations of this have been long recognized, but until recently no satisfactory explanation of the psychological mechanisms involved has been available. Now it is possible to recognize some of the reasons *why* it is that the permanence of a happy marriage is best insured when husband and wife are neither too emotionally close to each other, nor too distant; why, within sensible limits, periodic vacations from each other are good for marriage partners; why too constant and too absorbing interests in the same things are dangerous; why husbands and wives should each develop separate circles of acquaintances, in addition to those they enjoy together; why mutual observance of a reasonable measure of privacy, both physical and emotional, is founded on reasons sounder than those of prudery or possessiveness. All these things and many others that enter into every-day relationships help to explain why certain marriages fail, while others succeed.

The attainment, either by accident or design of a measure of equivalence between self- and social-wills is, therefore, indispensable to marital harmony. But once attained, unceasing effort must be exerted to keep the balance from shifting. At the time of courtship and during the first year or two of marriage a couple may find that a satisfactory adjustment of their self- and social-wills has been reached. If the *status quo* then existing could be maintained indefinitely little question of maladjustment would arise. But human behavior, being what it is, seldom remains static. Self-wills and social-wills with

their myriads of opposing pulls seem constantly to be subject to developmental influences that have derived their energy, in part from the impacts of personality against personality in the experiences of daily living on a reality level, and probably also in part from the manner in which the unconscious minds of the individuals need to interpret and capitalize these experiences. Thus an equipoise between two sets of self- and social-wills that is satisfactory to-day may be upset tomorrow through some influence, internally or externally experienced, that causes the will of one partner to develop more rapidly than that of the other—or less rapidly, or even to remain temporarily quiescent. As a result of this unequal development, the initial balance that enabled the husband and wife to attain a harmonious adjustment to each other is now disturbed, and, since the complemental arrangement between the need for freedom and the need for dependency no longer functions adequately, the resulting imbalance is expressed in sociological symptoms of varying degrees of dissatisfaction, quarreling, jealousy, infidelity, *et cetera*.

It becomes important, therefore, that persons whose professional interests lead them to undertake the adjustment of marital incompatibilities of others, be not misled into believing that an attack directed solely against these superficial symptoms, without a concurrent attack against the hidden, more fundamental conditions that cause the symptoms, will prove permanently effective in restoring the participants to a state of felicity. Dissatisfactions in marriage—quarreling, jealousy or infidelity—are by no means always the sole symptomatic expressions of a will-conflict. But they are so, sufficiently frequent to make a knowledge of their etiology, according to this theory, of considerable practical help to clergymen, lawyers,

physicians, and others whose technical advice is sought concerning a readjustment, a continuation or a dissolution of a given marital relationship.

The psychiatrist's aim, therefore, is twofold: first, to assist parents through the various media of mental hygiene education to so train their children as to enable them to establish early in life a satisfactory balance between self- and social-wills in order that neuroses of any kind (and of which persistent marital maladjustment is but one symptom) may be prevented; and second, to bring about, when possible, in marital disharmonies already in evidence a practical and working reconciliation between conflicting self- and social-wills through the help of an individual process of re-educative treatment.

This latter task is exceptionally difficult. Its accomplishment is first predicated on the arousal of a genuine coöperation between the psychiatrist and one or both marriage partners. In this respect, husbands and wives may give lip service to such necessary coöperation—but all too often the unconscious forces responsible for the maladjustment are so powerful as to prevent a satisfactory measure of true coöperation, no matter how sincerely the conscious part of the individual desires to coöperate.

Secondly, the present relative state of imperfection in the development of the technique usually regarded as necessary for emotional re-education makes such a process unavoidably time-consuming and expensive.

Lastly, while an understanding of the theory of will-psychology in its application to those marital problems for which it is suitable will undoubtedly carry us further in our search for the basic reasons for much marriage conflict, yet the correction of the condition is vastly more troublesome than its mere understanding. The application

of this technique of emotional re-education is distinctly not a job for the amateur, no matter how brimming over he may be with the milk of human kindness, nor how altruistic are his intentions. Much damage—even irreparable damage—can be wrought by the inexperienced in this field, and the damage is not the less serious because it may fail immediately to become

apparent. It will be a considerable time in the future before a sufficient number of specially trained personnel becomes available for widespread re-educational therapy. Until that time shall arrive, we will do well to proceed cautiously in too sweeping interventions in that most delicate, yet most vital of all human relationships, marriage.

THE RELATION OF PARENTAL DOMINANCE TO PARENT-CHILD CONFLICT

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I WISH to consider in this paper that peculiar nature of the parent-child relationship which proves to be a causal factor in parent-child conflict. In order to do this, it is necessary first to indicate of what this uniqueness of nature consists. Briefly it may be described by saying that the parent-child relationship occupies a special place in a special setting. It is, first of all, a family relationship; and it is, second, a special kind of family connection, different from that which obtains between husband and wife or brother and sister. As family relationships, all three of these combinations are subject to certain conditions peculiar to family life. Since these conditions set the stage for conflict, it would be well to consider them briefly before passing on to an examination of the special relationship existing between parent and child.

There are three elements which family life affords to an especial degree, and which constitute at once the source of some of its deepest satisfactions and the basis for some of its strongest conflicts. I refer to the well-recognized elements of (1) duration, (2) intimacy, and (3) con-

tinuity of contact. Even if nothing else were involved, the duration of the family association span would provide a larger arena in which mishaps might occur, since family relationships are exceeded by no others in point of protraction. In addition, however, members of a family reveal their personalities both more freely and more completely at home than elsewhere, which means that there are more points available at which friction may occur. An offshoot of this intimacy is the unusual concern which family members show over each other's conduct. They are units in a group, the actions of any one of which reflect upon the others. On the other hand, members are vastly more certain of their position in the family circle than of their status outside. They do not recognize so great a need for maintaining status within the family. Therefore they relax self-control and self discipline, and their best efforts for avoiding conflict are not exercised. Finally, family relationships, in addition to being prolonged in time and intimate in nature, offer continuity of contact. And quite apart from special situations of disagreement, this fairly unin-

interrupted contact constitutes a source of irritating tension. As a result of factors such as these, conflict generates more easily in family experience than elsewhere.

We are now prepared to see how, within this area of special susceptibility to conflict, there is a factor peculiar to the parent-child relationship which disposes it to even greater hazards of discord. This factor arises out of the superior-inferior relationship which exists between parent and child. As between husband and wife or brothers and sisters, there is to-day an approximation of equality. But the relationship between parent and child is characterized by an inequality of status. The child is a subject being, and the parent a leader. It is in this sense that the phrase *parental dominance* is here employed, in the meaning ably formulated by Simmel, namely, of the natural superordination of the parent and the subordination of the child.

The dominance of the parent may be viewed as extending to three general fields: (1) the physical, (2) the psychological, and (3) the social. In actual experience the three are interrelated and interfused. Just as the nature of human nature is most vividly defined through its manifestations in extreme forms, as, for example, in the insane, just so the character of the parent-child relationship is most clearly revealed in its manifestations in the crises of conflict. At such times the broad scope of parental dominance is distinctly evidenced. With respect to the physical field, the parent's control manifests itself in two ways: first, as physical superiority, due to sheer size and strength, and second, as survival superiority, due to the parent's command over essentials for the maintenance of life. Control through corporal punishment or through curtailment of food and clothing illustrates parental power in the physical field. Next, on the

psychological level the parent conditions the emotional and intellectual impulses of the child. In times of clash the parent may, for example, deny the child expression of affection for him, or he may stimulate in the child a consciousness of guilt through causing him to feel he has not properly met his responsibilities as a member of the family. Last, on the social plane, parental power determines to a considerable extent such matters as the culture traits which the child will take on, the nature of his participation in social groups and his consequent status in them. In extreme cases, parent-child conflict may lead to alienation or even disinheritance, whereby the child suffers complete loss of status at home, and consequent modification of his status in extra-familial groups.

Persons experience other relationships of superordination and subordination, but no one of them approaches the parent-child relationship in degree of dominance on the part of the superior. From a sociological standpoint, parent and child stand in the same position with reference to each other as master and slave. The child is the most helpless of young creatures, and as such is completely at the mercy of those who control him, namely, his parents. Both in what they do and in what they fail to do, they possess the most extensive dominance over him that two human beings may exercise over another person.

To the parent society delegates the task of bringing the child's impulses into conformity with the prevailing culture. There is no natural direction of the child's impulses into socially approved behavior patterns. The child tends to react to stimuli individually, and hence variably; society, however, requires that his expressions assume patterns of "conformity, regularity, and utility."¹ This opposi-

¹ Thomas and Thomas, *The Child in America*, p. 1.

tion of impulse against control constitutes the basis for the earliest, most recurrent conflict in the life of the child. And, since it is the parent upon whom society places the responsibility for thus shaping the child's behavior, the child identifies him as the source of constraint and reacts against him. This identification constitutes the underlying source of parent-child conflict.

This sort of parent-child conflict is inevitable. Wherever two persons of different capacities, attitudes, and tastes are in fairly constant contact, there is the probability of tension. When one undertakes, further, to mold the behavior of the other into socially approved forms, there is bound to be a clash. It is simply reaction against any control whatsoever, and must be looked upon as the natural accompaniment of the adjustive process in the child's development as a person. Undoubtedly a considerable proportion of the temper tantrums of young children represent merely this resistance to social orientation.

These conflicts that arise out of the reconditioning of the child's impulses in the interests of social harmony are not significant, from a practical point of view. Even the best and most enlightened parents will not escape them. The truly serious conflicts between parents and children are those which arise from the failure of the parent to effect a social orientation which is in keeping with the individual child's nature. The child's inherent impulses, when they become defined in social experience, constitute his needs. In order to secure an adequate social adjustment for the child, his needs must be satisfied. The failure of a parent to fulfill the needs of his child represents the root of many serious clashes between the two.

When we inquire exactly what are the basic needs of the child, we shall find it

desirable to regard them as expressions of one broad, all-inclusive need, namely, that for growth or completion. Growth implies a striving onward of impulses inherent in the object that is growing, the fruition of inborn tendencies. Since these impulses to act have already been provided the child by Nature, the parent who is in a position of dominance, has only two functions to perform: first, to provide a proper setting in which self-realization may occur, and second, to supply adequate direction.

The proper setting for the growth of the child is one in which his parents love each other and him. It is not ordinarily understood that the presence or absence of these conditions constitutes a powerful element in the dominance of parents over children. Yet, one of the basic psychological needs of children is that for security, psychic security or peace. Dissension in the home is oppression for the child, against which he reacts as definitely as if a superior physical force were arrayed against him.

How does this happen? In the first place, the child is extremely sensitive to tensions in the home. It does not matter whether the discord between father and mother be overt or covert, the child responds unfailingly to it. In fact, the very young child detects concealed discord even more readily than that which is open, for he is an expert at reading attitudes and muscle tensions, his very inability to interpret other expressions of personality causing him to concentrate upon these. The effect of such parental discord is to build up tensions within the child. Just as constant noise acts upon his nervous system to produce irritation, just so truly dissonance at home leads to strain. As a result, the child is primed for conflict with those who are responsible for his tensions.

In the second place, conflict between parents is an excellent training course for the

child. As a result of his home experience he comes to look upon opposition as natural. In this way he becomes part of an armed camp prepared for combat. Participation in the family feud is likely to follow, since the child will be moved to defend the parent he favors. Discrimination on the part of the child in favor of one parent is as common as partiality on the part of the parent for one child. The result is apt to be the arousal of jealousy in the parent discriminated against. Following Freud, considerable attention has been given to the jealousy of children with reference to their parents; the converse, which is equally important, has not been noted so fully.

Coupled with the question of the affection of parents for each other is the question of their affection for their children. The child's desire for psychic security is linked with a desire for response, that is, a deep desire to belong to his parents and be loved by them. Briffault, in his brilliant study, *The Mothers*, declares that the child at birth evinces no special desire for the affection of his own parents, that he is simply a dependent being whose special feeling of attachment generates for the person who first ministers to his wants. So, says Briffault, love from the parent is not necessary if an adequate substitute may be found. But Briffault studied new-born chicks for his information about grown-up children. Chicks may not mind being motherless (though it is a puzzle to me how one could tell this) but we know that children mind this a great deal. Even where an eminently satisfactory substitute supplants the mother, the loss is nevertheless felt by the child. For children live in a world where other children have parents, and what is more, parents who love them; and the force of this situation suggests to those who have not that which they wish to have.

A child may feel he is not wanted by virtue of a variety of experiences, such as, through being delegated to the care of a person other than his mother, or through experiencing actual or surmised lack of affection at home, or through being less favored than his brothers and sisters. The tensions engendered in a child by the belief that he is not loved by his parents are powerful sources of bitterness and revolt. The denial of affection by parents is a more positive exercise of their position of dominance than is their bestowal of love. The psychology in point is that of increased parental control through negative action.

The avoidance of conflict between parent and child demands, therefore, the provision through love of a setting of security in which the child may grow. It demands, further, that the parent give proper direction to the child's developing impulses and capacities. Avoidance of conflict in this respect may be said to devolve fairly upon the point of focus of the parent's control, that is, whether the attention of the parent centers upon the exercise of his own authority or upon the needs of his child. In one of the Healy case studies, we read this report of the onset of a parent-child clash:

Asked what is her earliest memory of any incident that she resented, Stasia tells us that she thinks it was something that occurred when she was about five. She loved to go with her mother on shopping expeditions because she was usually given candy or some treat. Once when she was very good and her mother had promised to take her, her father forbade it for no special reason. When she cried through disappointment he beat her in front of some customers in the shop. . . . Then they disagreed about their likes. She was always fond of dancing around the house and waving her arms about. This made him furious because he has a sister who was on the stage and whom he says she resembles. When she would dance and sing at home her father would forbid it, telling her that she would have a bad end.²

² Judge Baker Foundation, *Case Studies*, Case 17, p. 20.

This brief extract suffices to illustrate the exercise of control by a parent as a demonstration of his position of dominance, with no concern for the needs or desires of his child. Indeed, the power a parent possesses over his children is so great that it affords unusual and treacherous opportunities for exploitation. There is a temptation, for example, for the parent to exercise control here in compensation for a lack of influence in his adult world; however impotent in his other relations, a father may lord over his children and receive vicarious satisfaction. Or he may project his own personal ambitions onto his children, in the meantime hampering their own. In such ways, among others, may a parent hinder his children in the realization of their aptitudes and the expression of their personalities, with resultant accumulation of tension.

If, on the other hand, from his superior position a parent focuses his attention upon the needs of his child, he may utilize his dominance to create situations for the socially desirable fulfillment of these needs. An example illustrating both this democratic pattern of control and the patriarchal pattern revealed above is in point.

Peggy, aged three, was having one of her off-days. Nothing quite suited. Finally, standing in the middle of the floor looking like Elisha's cloud, the size of a man's hand but stormy, she stamped her small foot and announced with vehemence, "Then I'll go upstairs and change my dress," and up she went. Mother looked after her, puzzled but calm. Grandmother felt that since the child was wearing a clean dress she should be restrained. . . . The dress was changed (incidentally for a very similar one) and a smiling child came downstairs.³

By refusing to restrain her child, this mother secured for her an opportunity for the free fulfillment of her immediate emotional need. Without understanding the

child's desire, the mother respected it, since it was not socially undesirable; this is democratic control. Had the dominance of the grandmother been allowed to carry, a conflict situation should have been created, needlessly.

Parental dominance is not only a source of tensions in the child, but it largely determines as well the form of expression which these tensions shall take. Opposition may be regarded by the parent either as an attack upon his position of superordination by a revolting subordinate, or as a challenge to the adequacy of his control. If the child's overt conflict be suppressed by a vigorous display of parental power, then tensions may assume covert forms,—such as inner revolt, mental conflict, and fantasy. Since tensions are inevitable in every parent-child relationship, their expression in overt conflict is welcomed by that parent who realizes that he is thus, and only thus, made aware of the point at which pressure has accumulated and at which some adjustment in his control is necessary.

Thus it appears that in addition to those three characteristics of family life which are productive of conflict, namely, duration, intimacy, and continuity of contact, the parent-child relationship offers still a fourth basis for tension, namely, the superordination of the parent and the subordination of the child. Parental dominance will always be a source of conflict, in part inevitable, in part avoidable. Minor tensions are those which attend upon the process of the child's socialization. These are inevitable. Major tensions are those which result from the failure of the parent to provide adequately for the growth of the child. These may be minimized by affectionate understanding of the child's nature and adequate provision for its development.

³ M. S. Brisley, "Family Achievement," *National Conference of Social Work*, 1928, p. 267.

THE CHINESE FAMILY: AN ARENA OF CONFLICTING CULTURES

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OF THE phenomena of conflict and accommodation there is probably no more fertile field for study today than China; and of the changes occurring there none is more profound or more far-reaching than the revolution in the structure and psychology of the family.

The most obvious characteristic of the ancient Chinese family is its size. A family of thirty persons would be not considered a really large sized family.¹ In old times and even now in conservative well-to-do groups or in isolated rural districts, families of fifty, eighty, or a hundred and eighty members could be found. The typical Chinese family includes all the descendants, except married daughters and grand-daughters, of either living parent, plus the wives and concubines of their sons, their slave girls, adopted children, etc. Not until both parents are dead do the grown-up sons assume control of their own families as separate social units. Even when both parents die the sons often keep on living in the ancestral home, using the ancestral temple and burying ground, and entrusting their family and business affairs to the management of the oldest brother or uncle. So it usually happens that there are three or more generations and at least some members of several family branches all living together behind one gateway. More distantly related branches will often have their gateways one after the other opening into the long street of the clan, or great-family, village.

It is difficult for a Westerner to under-

stand the nature of the old-time Chinese family. We have no word that exactly translates their *chia*, just as they have no word that has much of the connotation of our word *home*. Considered from the standpoint of the large number of members and the variety of activities, the Chinese family might be described as a community. If the importance of status is regarded—the subordination of women to men, of younger members to elders, of concubines to wives, and all wives and concubines to the eldest married woman, and the virtual subjection of the whole group to the head, the *chia-ching*,—or if we look at the formality of family life, its elaborate etiquette and ceremony, its potential intrigue and training in diplomacy, it seems more like the household of a king's court than the homey thing we call our family. In its economic aspect it is comparable to a joint-stock company, in which every member of the family is a share-holder. It is a form of communistic co-operation under strict authority, the authority of the business-manager. In this family commune all must help to produce who are able, each is entitled to a share of the product, and no one may have more than his share or more than enough for his current needs. To hoard up things for oneself is forbidden as a form of thieving. The durable property belongs to the group as a whole, and the earnings of each member are part of the income of the whole.

From whatever standpoint it is examined the Chinese family is seen to be a thing of extraordinary solidarity, of widest possible scope of functions, and concentration within itself of practically all ethical and

¹ Pingsa Hu, *The Changing Chinese Woman* (Peking, 1926) p. 1.

moral sanctions. In this social system "whatever is good for the family, however that good is conceived, is approved and developed, whatever is inimical to the interests of the family, however they are formulated, is taboo and prohibited."²

Perhaps in nothing is this system of familism better illustrated, its success in social control more clearly demonstrated, than in the fashioning of the rule against jealousy on the part of a wife. Chinese concubines are not secondary wives; they are not wives at all, they are mistresses brought under the roof of the family. There is but one wife; and although she often exercises despotically the authority she has over all concubines, she may not show in the slightest degree the rage or pain of sexual jealousy. So strong is this element of conjugal ethics that it becomes a matter of conscience as well as a ground for divorce. A jealous wife loses her self-respect as well as her right to continue as wife in the ancient Chinese family.

Into this familistic world are moving alien cultural forces of tremendously powerful impact, all tending in their effect upon the family toward some kind or degree of individuation. To mention but a few of the greater centers of cultural radiation—Christianity has come, with its doctrine of individual responsibility, and personal salvation; capitalistic industry with its prizes for individual initiative and its varied forms of personal property; modern methods of education exalting the ideal of personality development; Republicanism and Sovietism, with their combined war on nepotism, their insistence on a wider civic consciousness, and their reliance upon individual suffrage and functional leadership in place of the power of the family and the authority of status.

This process of individuation is most

striking in its effects upon women. Heretofore, so completely were they lost as atoms in the familist mass, it used to be a shame for those above the coolie class to be seen in public; and even within these twenty-five years and in so advanced a city as Foochow it was a breach of etiquette to refer to a woman by name. She was spoken of, if at all, as so-and-so's wife or daughter or sister.³

But nowadays women register in universities or labor unions in their own names, run bank accounts and in some cases large businesses in their own names; and married professional women and journalists use their maiden names with perhaps more freedom and less self-consciousness than our own Lucy Stone brigade.

It has been remarked that China's women have unbound their feet and bobbed their hair, and the difference is three thousand years. This is not a fact, for the great majority of Chinese women outside of Kwangtung and the port cities still wear the head-dress of their foremothers, keep their own feet bound, and show some resistance to the government orders to unbind the feet of their little girls. But the new-woman type is well established in China.

Six per cent of university students are women in the land of the proverb, "A woman without ability is normal." Where Mencius taught that "to look upon compliance as their correct course is the rule for women," three per cent of the central government officials are women; three women have political appointments to the highest law-making body; one has been China's minister to France and is now president of a law college. In the country where the origin of footbinding has been explained in part by the desire of men to make it difficult for their wives to stray

² Daniel Kulp, II, *Country Life in South China* (New York, 1925) p. XXIX.

³ M. Burton, *The Education of Women in China*. (N. Y., 1912) p. 181.

away from home, thousands of women find their way to factories and mills—in Wusih more than 30,000;⁴ in Shanghai, 126,500, or sixty-two per cent of those gainfully employed in modern industry;⁵ and tens of thousands more are earning their living by home-work or in factories, in Tientsin, Canton, Hankow, Wuchang, and everywhere modern industry has penetrated. In short, of all the things happening to the Chinese family today none is more amazing than the swift loosening of its hold upon women.

Among other notable changes is the evident decrease in the number of persons who live together as one economic-family unit. Malone and Tayler find among 2,940 peasant families of Chihli only an average of 5.7 persons per family.⁶ Milam reports an average of 9 persons in the 610 families of students on which she was able to get data, only a little over six per cent having fifteen or more persons in the family, and only one family reaching as high as thirty-eight members.⁷ In the Yenching University survey of an old town near Peking, of 371 families studied, 81.5 per cent had no uncles, aunts, or cousins living with them; and 40 per cent consisted of only husband and wife and unmarried children.⁸ L. K. T'ao found among 500 families in Peking an average of 4.44 persons per family.⁹

It is significant that these small Peking families were in the class of poor handi-

craft wage-earners, and that in them 783 males and 856 females were gainfully employed; that the old town of Ching Ho has had its economic life much disarranged by the building through it of the railway to Kalgan and Mongolia; and that small-sized rural families are tenants or owners of very small plots of ground, Tayler's 372 smallest families in Chihli (2.7 persons) having family holdings of less than half an acre. These figures cannot, of course, be taken as descriptive of the contemporary Chinese family in general. If we should add to these the rest of the very few statistical data available, we could say only that the figures indicate that the "typical" Chinese family in point of numbers and range of kin is becoming more rare in certain places and groups, especially in those which are suffering or enjoying considerable economic vicissitude.

The new law of marriage and divorce is another witness to the strength of invading cultures. For example, the new law makes the consent of the spouses the essence of the marriage contract. Old Chinese marriage changed the status of two individuals by a contract between their families, made by the family heads with the services of the go-between. The Christians in China long ago insisted that Christian marriage must be different. In a paper on "Marriage in the Chinese Church," soon after Boxer times, the Bishop of the American Church of the Diocese of Kiangsu, while willing to go far in the direction of substituting Chinese ceremonial for that of the Book of Common Prayer or of harmonizing the two, declared: "There is one important point, however, which it is absolutely necessary that we should guard, the point of mutual consent. Under Roman law consent was of the essence of marriage, a marriage without consent being invalid; and by universal tradition

⁴ B. T. Kyong, *Industrial Women in Wusih* (Shanghai, 1929) pp. 2, 4.

⁵ Shanghai Municipal Social Bureau, Report on Shanghai Industry, 1930.

⁶ J. B. Tayler, *Farm and Factory in China* (London, 1928) p. 106.

⁷ A. B. Milam, *A Study of Student Homes of China* (N. Y., 1930) p. 10.

⁸ L. S. Hsü, *Study of a Typical Chinese Town* (Peking, 1929), p. 5.

⁹ L. K. T'ao, *Handicraft Workers of Peking*, in Chinese Social and Political Science Review, XIII (1929) p. 1.

of the Christian Church, the mutual consent of the parties has been regarded as absolutely essential. . . . It seems that if the Chinese ceremonies were recognized by the Church as constituting a marriage so far as its legal side is concerned, it would be possible to obtain from the Chinese in return at some point in the ceremonies a clear expression of this essential thing. Much can be done, too, by teaching our people that Christian marriage is a transaction between two immortal souls, and that it is not a mere contract between families."¹⁰ Several years later the Provisional Code, with no theological digressions, wrote this principle into the civil law of China, and the modern courts consistently uphold it.

In a recent case in the Supreme Court a man sued for divorce on the ground that his wife had been guilty of unfilial conduct towards his mother. Here it might be recalled that there is a saying current in ancient China to the effect that a bride loved by her parents-in-law but disliked by her husband could not be divorced, whereas a bride loved by her husband but disliked by her parents-in-law might be divorced. But in modern China, in the case mentioned, the Court decided that the main principle involved was that the two persons who are married are the *only* two parties involved; that no third party is allowed to interfere. The divorce was accordingly denied not only because there was no sufficient proof of unfilial conduct on the part of the defendant but also because this was not a sufficient ground for divorce.¹¹

That is the most radical of the changes in the marriage law. Other sections of the new law more clearly define and delimit the relations between husband and

wife than the old customs had done and considerably improve the status of the wife, permitting her the right to possess separate property whether earned or received as gift or bequest before or after marriage.¹²

One of the latest revisions of family law and one that caused widespread comment in the press of China is the provision that daughters may inherit their father's property on an equal basis with their brothers, and they are so entitled whether married or not. This law was promulgated in October, 1928. But the Supreme Court had already recognized the right of inheritance for women, acting in accordance with the principles of legal, educational, economic, and social equality between men and women which had been formulated in the First and Second All Kuomintang Conferences of 1924 and 1926.

The changes in the law of divorce have also been in the direction of increasing equality between husband and wife and recognizing their rights as individuals within the union. The old custom of divorce by mutual consent is put into the statute; and the grounds are specified on which women as well as men may sue if the wish to part is not mutual. In former times a man could divorce his wife for seven reasons including trivial ones; namely, talkativeness, stealing (which included hoarding family things for oneself or letting them "leak" out to the wife's relatives), disobedience to parents or whatever might be interpreted as unfilial conduct toward the husband's parents, barrenness, adultery, jealousy, and bad disease. These were not applicable to men. But in the present law six of the legal causes of divorce are more frequently urged in suits against men than in those against women, namely,—bigamy, adultery, cruel treatment, desertion, ab-

¹⁰ F. R. Graves, op. cit., in *The Morrison Society Papers*; No. 2 (Dec., 1903) p. 9.

¹¹ *Supreme Court Quarterly*, Vol. I (1928) p. 106.

¹² S. G. Su, *The Chinese Family System* (N. Y., 1922) pp. 65-70.

sence from home for three years, imprisonment for crime. Judicial interpretation of the old "seven-outs" law is also in the direction of adaptation to a modern world. For example, a woman's talkative, scolding tongue may bring legal separation only if it leads to great insult.¹³

Another sign of the times is the great increase in the number of divorces. In olden times divorce was almost unknown in China—thanks in part to concubinage and to the opposition put up by the wife's family, but in the main thanks to the strong adherence to time-honored family mores among the Chinese peasantry. But now the volume of divorce, though for no place or period accurately measured, is sufficient to cause comment on all sides. In Tientsin in the spring of last year it was reported that divorce cases constituted thirty per cent of the civil court cases.¹⁴

In the statistics available a striking thing is the large proportion of divorces granted on the plea of the women. Of the sixty-nine cases that came up before the district courts of Kwangsi Province in 1927, sixty-eight were initiated by women.¹⁵ Of the fifty-one cases in the latter half of 1927 which did not come before the courts but were effected simply by notices in the newspapers, fifty were on the initiative of the women.¹⁶ These were by no means all of the divorces occurring in Kwangsi in the latter half of 1927. A great many were effected by the unannounced separation of the spouses. The farmers in some districts complained that it was too hard for them to find themselves in wives, so to speak; and it was seriously suggested that the poor farmer should be compensated by the family of his divorcing wife, or else that the "dower" system be abolished, so

that the divorcee could get another wife without the big expenditure the first one had cost him.¹⁷ It was said that some of the divorced men were so discouraged that they committed suicide, and others were so enraged that they committed murder in revenge.¹⁸

On the other hand, the Shanghai Women's Association in 1928 reported that so many divorced women, "old-style" wives to whose families the husbands now felt no responsibility, were coming to their office, three or four daily, that they advised the government's opening refuge homes for divorced women where they might find temporary shelter and a chance to learn a trade by which they could support themselves.¹⁹ This progressive Women's Association, which seems to have forgotten all about the duty of ancestor worship, also suggested that public nurseries be opened and the sending of the children of divorced couples to these nurseries be made compulsory.²⁰

If prophecy is at all permissible, it might be surmised that it is extremely unlikely that China will ever have America's experience of the alimony and breach-of-promise rackets. In a country which has omitted the age of chivalry, where poverty can drive men, thousands every year, to sell their own daughters into prostitution, it can hardly be imagined that judges and jurors would award damages of half a million or even half a thousand for the heart-break of an office girl. Breach of promise has been a serious and suable offense in China; but heretofore the offense has been against the family of the jilted, because the family "lost face" and suffered financially by the breaking of the marriage or betrothal contract. Loss of "face" is

¹³ *Ladies Journal*, XI (1925) p. 1293.

¹⁴ *Ta Kung Pao*, May 28, 1930.

¹⁵ *The New Kwangsi*, Jan. 11, 1928, p. 23.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Mar. 21, 1928, p. 16.

¹⁷ *The New Kwangsi*, Oct. 1, 1928, pp. 9, 14.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *The Shanghai Woman*, Oct., 1928, pp. 7-11.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

a thing quite different from wounded affections: it may happen to either sex, and judges are just as likely to compensate men as women for the loss. The law of equality will cut both ways in China, in the matter of betrothal as well as of divorce. "I hold," said Mr. Wei Tao-Min, then acting director of the Judicial Yuan of the central government, "that men are as much entitled to sue their wives for divorce and ask them for support as women are entitled to sue their husbands for alimony. The function of the court in a divorce case henceforward should be the determination of the question as to which of the parties is wrong in the eyes of the law. If the wife is wrong she should pay damages to her husband just as the husband is required to pay her alimony if he wants to divorce her."²¹

If compensation is not forthcoming to the Chinese peasant who feels himself wronged in a divorce suit, it may be predicted that he will find ways to obstruct this particular phase of women's emancipation. Here is one way—successfully worked in Hunan when the women's movement was progressing at its top speed. The story is told by one of the leaders of the women's associations, which in the absence of properly established courts during the Communist regime in Central China four years ago, assumed the functions of a provisionary court of domestic relations. "If we do not grant the appeals of the women," she said, "they lose faith in the (woman's) union and in the women's freedom we are teaching. But if we grant the divorces, then we have trouble with the peasants' union There was in one district a peasant woman who begged for divorce from her husband and got it. Thereupon all the members of the local peasants' union, in number about a thou-

sand, said: 'If even a woman can put away her husband, how much more can we men.' They all began sending their wives home to the parents as a strike against the women's union. This caused such a scandal in the neighborhood that at last the women's union went to the first woman and begged her to go back to her husband in the interests of neighborhood peace."²²

Whatever the modern statute may be and however faithfully the new courts, permanent or provisional, may interpret its principles, traditional attitudes and customary ways will continue to assert themselves throughout most of inland China for a long time. Modern courts are few, and the chances of getting their decisions enforced are quite limited. China is still in the main a cultural society wherein action is guided by customs and moral maxims much more than by legislation.

Therefore, the reformers have set themselves the task of modernizing the mind of China in its most conservative aspect through propaganda and education. Hence the great volume of literature,—pamphlets, books, leaflets, magazine articles,—continually appearing on the problems of the family. Hence the frequency with which this topic appears on the programs of student conferences and discussion groups. Among students especially one finds the speedy translation or paraphrasing and avid reading of western ideas on the subject—Mill, Bebel, Wells, Gilman, Ellen Key, the Vaertings, William Robinson, Havelock Ellis, Bertrand Russell, and all the rest. Books and articles on eugenics are also widely circulated, and of course lectures on any variety of sexology are attended by crowds.

Much of the writing is an airing of grievances and presentation of personal problems with accompanying rationaliza-

²¹ *Peking Leader*, June 25, 1929.

²² A. L. Strong, *China's Millions* (1928) p. 125.

tion; and certain themes recur with great frequency. There is, in the first place, the dead weight of religion and tradition enjoining filial piety and strict obedience to elders which is often inveighed against. One discouraged youth writes—on "The Despotism of Chinese Parents"—"There is one class of persons whose dignity is inviolable and whose rights are beyond the reach of the law. They take old customs and ancient traditions and therewith bind slavery on the people. They are too strong for the revolutionists and socialists to overcome. Their power is as big as that of the Roman Pope. They are the Chinese parents. Their realm is the family, and children are their subjects."²³ Many centuries lie between this youth and the revered Li Hung Chang, who a few decades ago petitioned the Emperor for permission to retire from his pressing state duties for a period of three full years in order to mourn the death of his mother. When the Emperor refused the customary three years and granted only a hundred days, Li sent another memorial saying: "Remorse will haunt memorialist all his life, and there is a wound in his heart that prevents him privately from enjoying a moment's respite from pain, and publicly from being of any service to the state. Even if he were to spend three years in lamentation at her tomb, it would not avail to relieve his soul from the poignant and inexpressible regret he feels for his lack of filial duty."²⁴

Much vehemence, too, is put into the demands for "free love," which usually means freedom on the part of the young persons to choose their mates for marriage without the interference of the parents, and free association between the sexes.

²³ *The New Youth*, V (1918) p. 637.

²⁴ The breach of duty referred to was his failure to visit his mother during her last illness. J. W. Foster, Ed., *Memoirs of Li Hung Chang* (N. Y., 1913) p. XVIII.

There is an earnest searching for an etiquette of courtship and of friendly relations between men and women, to take the place of the set of taboos hitherto in control. In the "Book of Rites," which was "the law and the prophets" in these matters, it is prescribed: "Man and woman should not sit together in the same apartment. . . . nor let their hands touch in giving and receiving. A sister-in-law and brother-in-law do not interchange compliments about each other. . . . When a young lady has been engaged, no man should enter the door of her apartment, unless there be some grave cause (such as great sickness or death, or other great calamity). When a married aunt, or sister, or daughter, returns home on a visit, no brother of the family should sit with her on the same mat or eat with her from the same dish. Even father and daughter should not occupy the same mat. Man and woman, without the intervention of the matchmaker, do not know each other's name. Unless the engagement has been accepted, there should be no communication or affection between them."²⁵ So the new freedom comes into vacuum: practically out of nothing must it fashion the rules for its guidance.

Given free association, how should they proceed with this serious business of marriage, emancipated from the control of parents? "Choosing a life-mate" is a favorite topic at student conferences and in the liberal press. In a sample article in a Tientsin paper, too much prudence and setting of "conditions" is condemned. Especially is the "marriage-introducing society" under fire. That, says the writer, is no better than the old system of go-betweens. In fact it is worse; for if marriages made by this club are unsuccessful, who is to blame, who will be responsible for the

²⁵ Translated in Tyau, M. C., *China Awakened* (1922) p. 87-88.

divorce? Quoting Carpenter, he advocates emphasis on compatibility of emotional life. Love is the essential thing and love that grows naturally out of friendship is very different from that which depends on artificially cultivated acquaintance, with matrimony in mind from the start, says this author.²⁶

What about the wisdom of "Advertising for Mates?"²⁷ Should girls be educated for wifehood and motherhood or for independent careers? How shall concubines be treated at present; and how can concubinage be prevented in the future?²⁸ What about birth-control? (Mencius said that of the three forms of impiety the greatest is to be without sons; but Mencius seems to be of less interest to modern youth than the books of Marie Stopes.) What shall a man do about the old-fashioned wife to whom his parents betrothed him in childhood and married him in his early youth? Shall he divorce her or unbind her feet and send her to school to be educated and modernized? To how many relatives and

within what degrees of kinship must a man or woman with an income feel some financial duty? Should the widow be permitted to remarry? These are problems that come up continually in one form or another.²⁹

These, then, are some of the major signs of the clash of cultures in the Chinese family: these beginnings of the emancipation of women from the bonds of family enslavement; of the rebellion of youth; the modernization of the law of marriage and divorce; the reduction in the size of the family; and the questioning and criticizing of all the old moral forms and sanctions. To each of the serious problems raised young China is giving dozens of answers in the current literature—theoretical solutions and practical devices too varied and numerous even to mention in so brief a glance as this.

²⁶ *The New Sex*, Vols. I to IV (1926-29) passim.

Ladies Journal, Vols. I-XVI (1915-30) passim.

Note: The following publications referred to in the footnotes are in the Chinese language, their titles been translated or Romanized according to current usage: *Report on Shanghai Industry*; *Supreme Court Quarterly*; *Ladies Journal*; *Ta Kung Pao*; *The New Kwangsi*; *The Shanghai Woman*; *The New Youth*; *Shun Pao*; *The New Sex*.

²⁶ *Ta Kung Pao*, Mar. 13, 1930.

²⁷ *Ladies Journal*, X (1924) pp. 1185-1198.

²⁸ *Shun Pao*, Feb. 27, 1929, p. 13.

Nearly everywhere in the world there are evidences of transitional unrest in family life. A German correspondent writes:

The past year in Germany has witnessed the defeat, but by a narrow margin, of an effort of the Socialists and Communists in the Reichstag to give the concubine or mistress equal standing with the regularly married woman. More importance attaches to a campaign to remove from the penal code the provisions making abortion a crime. This has the support of both Marxist parties and also of the Democrats and Jewish circles, in so far as the latter are not orthodox. A female physician who was but lately indicted with a male doctor for performing abortions indiscriminately is now in Berlin and plans a number of public meetings to advocate freedom for abortionists. It cannot be denied that the movement has a great deal of strength. Contraceptives are advertised and sold openly, even advertised with great illuminated signs on the street cars.

From Turkey comes:

During 1929 the so-called "Celibate Tax" was pending in the National Assembly. This tax was to be levied on all unmarried men and women over 21 and grew out of the general concern over the falling off of marriage and the decrease of population.

SOCIAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

TECHNOLOGICAL UNEMPLOYMENT

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TECHNOLOGICAL unemployment is that form of unemployment which results from the introduction of labor-saving machinery. Closely allied to the unemployment which follows the substitution of machines for men is another kind of unemployment which occurs sometimes because of administrative reorganization for purposes of efficiency. Also the increasing tendency to refuse to employ men and women past middle age is to a large extent due to technological considerations, but it is a substitution of young persons, instead of machines, for the older men and women. The writer is concerned mainly with that kind of unemployment which is due to the improvement in machine and administrative processes, thus requiring fewer workers to produce the same quantity of material goods. For example, it has been estimated that the output of four-ounce prescription bottles is forty-one times greater per man hour, when machine processes are used, than it was twenty-five years ago by hand processes, that production of window glass is ten times as rapid by machinery as by hand, and that electric light bulbs can be produced thirty-one times more rapidly by machinery than by hand.¹ Another familiar example is

the reconditioning of street cars so that one man functions as both motorman and conductor. Such examples could be multiplied indefinitely.

The purpose of this paper is to try to estimate the significance of technological unemployment as a social problem in the United States. This type of unemployment, as generally conceived, is an object of great concern, because it appears to indicate a progressive decline in the relative number of the population who will be able to find employment. To many journalists and to some public officials the number of persons thrown out of work because of technological changes is showing, and will continue to show, an upward secular trend. The result of this condition would probably be a considerable decline in the standard of living for an increasingly large section of the population. In this paper various types of evidence which bear upon the problem of technological unemployment will be examined and tentative conclusions which this evidence may warrant will be stated.

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

In order to put the recent discussion of technological unemployment in its proper perspective, attention should be directed to certain preliminary considerations. They are the fact that technological unem-

¹ "Displacement of Labor by Machinery in the Glass Industry," *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 24, No. 4, pp. 1-13, 1927.

ployment is not a new phenomenon, much of the recent discussion to the contrary notwithstanding, and the further fact that any gloomy prediction of the indefinite rise in a secular trend of this type of unemployment must give due weight to the trend of population growth.

The history of material culture reveals the fact that the use of labor-saving devices has a very long record. Such simple tools as the inclined plane, the wheel and axle, and the pulley are very ancient. Yet in ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt and Greece they undoubtedly caused a shift in occupations. Perhaps they did not result in unemployment, because so much work of this type was done by slaves, but they caused a change in the relative numbers of persons in certain occupations. When the sailing ship displaced the trireme on the Mediterranean, the men who had propelled the trireme with oars had to be given other jobs. But to come down to more recent times, the first great period, during which substitution of machines for men was wide spread, was the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first-quarter of the nineteenth century. At first this rise of machine industry was confined largely to textile manufacture. A series of invention appeared which rapidly rendered hand work obsolete. But steam power which played a large part in the changes in methods of production of textiles was soon applied to navigation and land transportation. Other industries rapidly adopted it. Men were deprived of their handicraft occupations, and rioting occurred in England. In America Whitney's cotton gin was invented. Here was a machine which could take a thousand pounds of lint off the cotton seed in a day, while a man could remove only one or two pounds a day by the hand process. The cotton gin helped to accelerate the conversion of the textile industry in England from the hand to the

machine process, and, consequently, it contributed to technological unemployment. Yet the great expansion of cotton planting in the United States and of the textile industry in England, in which millions of people came to be occupied, depended upon this machine which temporarily deprived people of their occupations.

During the last quarter of a century thousands of men in the universities and in the industrial laboratories have become professional inventors. Men no longer make an occasional technical invention in a life time; one man may make a large number in a single year. This fact creates an accelerating dynamic condition in occupations, and substitution of machines for men has become a common experience about which almost everybody knows something. But that this condition indicates an inevitable rise in the secular trend of unemployment requires statistical proof.

The rate of growth of population is another fact which has a bearing on the possibility of cumulative technological unemployment. If the population of the United States should increase indefinitely at the same rate which it had in the early decades of the nineteenth century, the population would perhaps be in the neighborhood of 700,000,000 in the year 2,000. (Bonyng's prediction made in 1832.) But a recent estimate by Mr. P. K. Whelpton, of the Scripps Foundation for Population Research, indicates that it will be about 186,000,000.² Mr. Whelpton has made allowance for birth rates, death rates, age distribution, and immigration rates. He finds the rate of population growth slowing up. Later in this paper it will be shown that the proportion of the population over ten years of age which

² P. K. Whelpton, "Population of the United States, 1925 to 1975," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 34, No. 2, pp. 253-273.

is gainfully employed since 1870 has tended to increase. That is, employment has tended to gain on population growth. Production per capita has also increased. If population growth is retarded and approaches a static condition, it would seem that a rising material scale of living would result, because a relatively higher percentage of the population will be gainfully employed than in the nineteenth century, while at the same time the improvement in technology increases the output per man-hour. The writer believes that these facts should be considered in estimates of the significance of technological unemployment and that they reduce the reasons for the fear of a rising tide of the constantly unemployed.

An allied fact of importance is the age and sex constitution of the population concerned. If an unusually large percentage of the population in a given region is under sixteen years of age, the proportion of the total population gainfully employed will be low. The same condition would be approximated, if there were a high percentage of the population over sixty-five years of age. Sex should also be considered. In the older and more industrialized parts of the country a high percentage of the women are employed, but in newer and more largely agricultural regions the percentage is low. This is due partly to an excess of females in the older regions, though not altogether.

RECENT ESTIMATES OF TECHNOLOGICAL UNEMPLOYMENT

It will be interesting to compare a few recent estimates of the extent and significance of technological unemployment. The objection which may be raised to many current discussions on this subject is that they are based largely upon reports of declining employment in manufacturing, agriculture, and railroad transportation

in the last decade. Official reports of employment in these industries are available either annually or biennially. It is significant to the present analysis that such discussions have rarely gone farther back than 1919. There are no official reports on persons employed in trade and commerce, domestic and personal service, and the professions since the census of 1920. In the writer's opinion it is in the latter occupations that increased employment should be expected to distribute the products of industry to consumers and to render the service which a rising material scale of living makes possible. Workers change from factory and from railroad to these other occupations. Furthermore the time element is important. Following the substitution of machines for a group of workers, considerable time may elapse before the last of them is reabsorbed into industry or other occupations. A one-industry city like Detroit may witness a general installation of labor-saving devices within a short period of time. Many workers will be laid off, and the number may be too large to be reabsorbed into the economic system at once locally. While this condition is in process, a report on employment in that city would indicate technological unemployment. A year later the situation might have changed markedly.

The American Federation of Labor is advocating a reduction in hours per week and urging that the wage scales be maintained or raised. In a recent publication put out by the Federation Mr. Ewan Clague has written the article dealing with machines and unemployment.³ He notes that early in 1929 there were a million fewer workers engaged in manufacturing than there were in 1920. While the out-

³ "Trade Unions Study Unemployment," Article entitled "Productivity and Unemployment" by Ewan Clague.

put of manufactured products has increased since 1920, employment has declined. Mr. Clague recognizes that many of these million workers have found employment in distribution and various services, but he concludes his discussion with a recommendation to reduce hours of labor. But why should hours of labor be reduced? Mr. Clague is not concerned with the physiological effects of long hours, but with the economic problem of steady employment for a maximum number of workers. If factory output rises steadily with fewer workers required, the workers laid off will be needed to distribute the products to consumers and to perform the increased incidental services. A larger per capita product will be available to consumers. But if Mr. Clague's suggestion were put into practice, a larger number of workers would be employed in factories to put out the same product. One result of this policy would be to stabilize the scale of living instead of raising it.

Mr. Stuart Chase shares the general point of view expressed by Mr. Clague.⁴ He cites the decline in employment in agriculture, manufacturing and mechanical industries, railroads and mining between 1919 and 1925. The reduction of 1,675,000 workers is impressive, but it is less so when it is recalled that these industries in 1919 had not entirely readjusted themselves to a peace time basis. This readjustment was not completed until after the depression of 1921. Furthermore, while Mr. Chase mentions the so-called "blotting paper" occupations which have absorbed some of these unemployed men, he discounts its importance as a temporary phenomenon. "A new job," says Mr. Chase, "can no more be created as fast as the machine tips a man out of an old one. Accelerating unemployment is before us,

and unless something is done, and that quickly, a very heavy bill, cast in terms of wretchedness and despair, will shortly be submitted." This is a gloomy picture. According to the facts given in this paper, it is much too gloomy. The occupations concerned with services and distribution have been increasing in relative importance for a long time, and the census data create a strong presumption that they are much more important as shock absorbers than Mr. Chase thinks.

A number of studies have been made to determine the nature of technological unemployment in particular industries. One of these was made by Mr. George E. Barnett⁵ in the glass industry. For twenty-five years hand processes in the glass industry have been giving way to machinery. In 1907 the Glass Bottle Blowers Association had 9,627 members, all of whom were blowers, but ten years later its membership had shrunk to 6,321, of whom only about 4,000 were blowers. The remainder were unskilled bottle workers, such as packers and machine attendants. These had been admitted to the union in order to keep up its power to bargain with the manufacturers. Here is a decrease in a union's membership of about one-third in ten years because of the introduction of machinery which has resulted in larger production of glass bottles. Mr. Barnett does not assume that the bottle blowers who are out of the glass industry are permanently unemployed. He suggests, however, that some of them may have had to take less skilled and less remunerative jobs. Technological unemployment thus involves some shifting from skilled to unskilled work. A man who had served his apprenticeship at glass blowing and found his job taken by a machine might become a ma-

⁴ Stuart Chase, *Men and Machines*, Macmillan, 1929.

⁵ See George E. Barnett, "Chapters on Machinery and Labor" in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 39, 1924-25, pp. 334-356, 544-574.

chine tender. He might even have to find work elsewhere.

Mr. Robert J. Myers made a study of 370 cutters who were let out of the clothing industry.⁶ He traced the occupational experience of these men for a year and half or more after they left the clothing industry. For 240 of them he got the length of time which elapsed before they found regular work. Of this number 28.7 per cent lost no time; 30.1 per cent lost one to three months; 12.9 per cent lost four to six months; 9.6 per cent lost six to nine months; 5.8 per cent lost ten to twelve months; and 12.9 per cent lost more than a year. At the time of the study 11.4 per cent of the 370 were unemployed. About 25 per cent had better jobs than cutting, 40 per cent had poorer jobs or none, and 35 per cent had jobs approximately as good as cutting. Some of these men had received a "dismissal wage," and a few of this group admitted to Mr. Myers that they had not seriously looked for a new job until this money was spent. Consequently, the weighted average time lost of 5.2 months is unnecessarily high, because some of the men took a vacation. There was considerable time lost, and there was a net decrease in the quality of the jobs obtained. These are the important effects of this instance of technological unemployment in the opinion of the author.

Probably the best general discussion of technological unemployment which has yet appeared is by Professor Paul H. Douglas.⁷ He disagrees entirely with the writers who fear that technological unemployment results in an increasing number of the permanently unemployed. He con-

cludes that the "net result of these technological improvements is—not permanent unemployment, as at first seemed to be the case, but rather a transfer of labor from some lines to others" and that it is "clear that permanent technological unemployment is impossible." Professor Douglas does not present statistics to show that the volume of employment is fairly constant, except for seasonal and cyclical variations; he analyzes the processes which labor-saving machinery sets in motion and shows that readjustments are inevitably made. Increased demand for the larger product of industry increases the need for workers to handle distribution, and some of the increased money return is invested in new enterprises which absorb the workers who were laid off because of the technological changes in the plant where they worked at first.

The inference which one may draw from the discussions cited is that the nature of technological unemployment has been misunderstood. Its essential characteristic is the shift in occupations, not a relative reduction in the total number of occupations. The appropriate methods of dealing with it, if other evidence supports this opinion, are, therefore, efficiently operated free employment exchanges, better personnel management, and last, but only after a careful study of all the facts, reduction in the hours of labor.

PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOR NOT AN INDICATOR OF TECHNOLOGICAL UNEMPLOYMENT

One of the most familiar phenomena of modern industry is the increasing productivity of labor. This is not a new condition, any more than technological unemployment is new, but it comes to our attention more frequently than in earlier decades and centuries. The increasing productivity of labor is related to technological unemployment, and it is believed

⁶ Robert J. Myers, "Occupational Readjustment of Displaced Skilled Workmen," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 37, 1929, pp. 473-489.

⁷ Paul H. Douglas, "Technological Unemployment," *American Federationist*, Vol. 37, No. 8, 1930, pp. 923-950.

by some writers to be proof in itself of corresponding cumulative unemployment.

The Monthly Labor Review (Vol. 26, No. 2) reproduced an index of the productivity of labor in Australia. The index makes 1911 the base year, and relatives are computed for each year from 1908 to 1924. It should be pointed out that this index is based upon money values, adjusted for price changes, of the products of agriculture, live stock raising, dairying, poultry, bee keeping, forestry and fisheries, mining, and manufacturing. It does not use the physical volume of production. This fact probably renders the index less reliable. However, the index of general productivity never rises higher than 107.9, a point which it reaches in 1924. It was 105.8 in 1910, and it was 87.0 in 1919, and 97.6 in 1923. The irregular variations of the index in different years may reflect its unreliability, or it may indicate that the productivity of labor has not increased steadily. Index numbers for agriculture and dairying (includes poultry and bee keeping) indicate that the productivity of labor increased 50 per cent and 80 per cent respectively, but the productivity of factory labor increased only 7.5 per cent. Trade, transportation, domestic and personal service, and the professions are not included in the index of productivity. Hence, we do not know whether the general productivity of labor has increased or not. Increasing productivity of labor is sometimes cited as evidence of technological unemployment, but it is not. Anytime that per capita production increases in a country the productivity index rises, even though the proportion of the population employed remains constant or even increases at a slower rate than per capita production. Wholly aside from the fact that the Australian index does not include all gainful occupations, it tells nothing about technological unemployment.

In another number the Monthly Review (Vol. 23, No. 5) has published productivity indexes for slaughtering and packing and petroleum refining. Using 1909 as a base year, it was found that the index of productivity in slaughtering and packing in 1925 was 110.7. The increase has been irregular, dropping much below 100.0 in 1914 and 1919, but the trend of productivity is slightly upward. Productivity in petroleum refining increased more steadily from 100.0 in 1914 to 177.3 in 1925. Neglecting the fact that these are special indexes, technological unemployment is not indicated within these two industries. The Monthly Labor Review, of course, does not claim that technological unemployment is shown by these indexes, but popular writers have frequently made this assumption. The gross production of the slaughtering and refining industries may have increased at the same, or a greater, rate than the productivity of labor. If gross production increased at the same rate, the number employed in slaughtering and packing and refining would be the same, but, if gross production increased more rapidly than productivity of labor, then these industries are providing more labor than they did in the base years. These indexes were derived from dividing the total production by the number of man-hours, which gives the production per man-hour. This in turn was expressed as a percentage of the base year production per man-hour.

A recent study of a few industries in Indianapolis was made by the present writer for the purpose of discovering tendencies to technological unemployment in these industries. These particular firms were selected, because there was a common opinion in the city that they, if any industries, would show evidence of greater production with fewer workers. Indexes of physical production, of employment,

and of productivity per employee were computed. Table I gives these indexes for five firms for which data were available since 1923, and 1923 was used as the base year. An examination of this table will reveal the fact that the number of employees may be increasing at the same time that the index of productivity is increasing; this is notably true in firms No. 3 and No. 4, and it is true in certain years in other firms. When production decreases, there is usually a corresponding decrease in employment, and vice versa. This tendency was tested by computing the coefficient of correlation between the produc-

employment might not mean increasing technological employment, but as a matter of fact the number of employable persons tends to increase. Consequently, it is necessary for employment indexes to show an upward secular trend alongside the upward secular trend of productivity, if we are not to have an increasing number of persons unemployed because of technological changes. The high correlation between the production and employment indexes in the five firms considered here suggests that their annual variations in employment are due to other causes than technological conditions. If this high

TABLE I
INDEXES OF PRODUCTION, OF EMPLOYMENT, AND OF PRODUCTIVITY PER EMPLOYEE IN FIVE INDIANAPOLIS INDUSTRIES,
1923 TO 1929

YEAR	FIRM NO. 1			FIRM NO. 2			FIRM NO. 3			FIRM NO. 4			FIRM NO. 5		
	Production	Employment	Productivity	Production	Employment	Productivity	Production	Employment	Productivity	Production	Employment	Productivity	Production	Employment	Productivity
1923	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1924	88.5	90.1	98.2	101.4	101.2	100.2	98.5	101.8	96.8	112.4	94.8	118.6	82.8	86.2	96.1
1925	79.4	81.4	97.3	101.5	99.7	101.9	109.5	100.1	109.3	189.8	130.5	145.5	100.4	96.1	104.5
1926	80.7	79.6	99.7	99.7	95.9	104.1	108.1	109.9	98.2	235.3	137.3	171.4	171.4	98.3	108.2
1927	86.4	76.8	112.2	97.3	87.2	111.4	106.0	111.2	95.4	238.4	133.7	178.2	104.6	96.6	108.3
1928	113.3	86.2	131.1	97.0	77.2	125.9	118.8	113.1	105.6	303.4	155.0	195.7	101.2	95.4	106.1
1929	153.2	115.8	132.0	96.5	69.2	139.5	120.6	114.2	105.6	336.6	188.8	178.2	121.9	108.5	112.4

tion indexes and the employment indexes, in which $r = .896 \pm .024$. Firm No. 2 shows a marked tendency to reduction of employment to produce the same physical product. It is a street railway company and is the only firm out of the five in which there is a consistent tendency to create technological unemployment, though other firms show some tendency in this direction. If the per capita product, and hence the general standard of living, is to rise, then the productivity of labor must increase, while the number of employees remains constant or increases. If the total number of employable persons should decrease in the city or the nation, then a declining

correlation is found between general business indexes and general employment indexes, then we are reasonably sure that technological unemployment in the nation is not the serious problem which some writers have thought it is. Unfortunately we do not have employment data which are adequate to compute a correlation between employment and general business in the nation.

It should be pointed out that cumulative technological unemployment in the nation can be demonstrated only, if there is a relative decline in all employment. The five Indianapolis firms may not be representative of industry in general. Indeed,

a cursory examination of indexes of factory employment and of industrial production indicates that they are not, but they suggest the complexity of the problem facing the investigator. Another approach to the problem may be had through a study of the United States Census of occupations, to which attention is now directed.

THE UNITED STATES CENSUS OF OCCUPATIONS
INDICATES RISING EMPLOYMENT

Our most complete source of occupational data is the decennial census of occupations by the United States Bureau of

tions for 1930 is published. Many writers believe that this census will reveal a decline in the total number employed in the country. That may turn out to be true, but the fifty years preceding should show some downward trend, if technological unemployment is the serious problem which it is often believed to be, even though there may have been a more rapid decline in employed persons during the last ten years.

Table II gives the percentage of the population ten years of age and older, the percentage of the population of this age by sex who were employed at each decennial census since 1870, and the general business index at the time the census was taken. For the fifty-year period the trend in employment for both sexes is upward, for males slightly upward and for females markedly upward. The percentage of the population gainfully employed in 1870 was lower than at any other census, and it was highest in 1910. Furthermore, the percentage of the population over ten years of age increased during this period, which necessitated further acceleration in the development of the number of jobs, but the increase in jobs was greater than the increase of this age group. Obviously other factors than technological conditions are required to explain the irregularity of the percentages, such as cyclical and seasonal conditions. Cyclical conditions are reflected by the general business index and correspond fairly closely to the percentage of gainfully employed at each census, though the variations require explanation, and seasonal conditions constitute a part of the explanation. The census was taken June 1 in 1870, June 1 in 1880, June 2 in 1890, and June 1 in 1900. At this time of year there is normally a seasonal decline in production and employment which would be indicated in the census of occupations by a lower percentage gainfully employed. The census was

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION OVER TEN YEARS OF AGE, PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION OVER TEN YEARS OF AGE EMPLOYED, AND THE GENERAL BUSINESS INDEX AT THE TIME OF THE CENSUS

YEAR	PER CENT OF POPULATION TEN YEARS OF AGE OR OVER—BOTH SEXES	PERCENTAGE EMPLOYED			GENERAL BUSINESS INDEX*
		Both sexes	Male	Female	
1870	73.2	44.3	74.8	13.1	
1880	73.3	47.4	78.7	14.7	108.0
1890	75.4	47.9	79.3	17.4	115.0
1900	76.3	50.4	80.0	18.8	106.0
1910	77.8	53.3	81.3	23.4	111.0
1920	78.3	50.3	78.2	21.1	113.0

* Index published by The American Telephone and Telegraph Company. Taken from F. C. Mills, "Statistical Methods," p. 358. 100 is taken as normal.

the Census. The more frequent enumerations of employment in factories, mines, agriculture, and railroad transportation are reasonably adequate for these industries, but there is no similar enumeration of employment in trade, domestic and personal service, and the professions. The latter occupations have undoubtedly absorbed many workers who cannot find work in the former group. Comparable data are available in the Census of Occupations from 1870 to 1920. It will perhaps be 1932 before the census of occupa-

taken April 15 in 1910 and January 1 in 1920. April is normally a month of high production and activity. Consequently, the percentage gainfully employed at the time of the 1910 census was unusually high as compared with any census which was made in June. Likewise, January is a month of relatively low production and employment. If the census had been taken in the same month every year, assuming similar cyclical conditions, the probability is that the upward secular trend of employment would have been less and that there would not be the apparent wide divergence of percentages gainfully employed in 1870 and 1910. All that can be said

portation, and manufacturing and mining and mechanical industries has increased. The changes in occupations of females has been similar except that the proportion in agriculture has declined less than in the case of males, and in recent decades the proportion in manufacturing and mining and mechanical industries has declined from the high point in 1890. Data in comparable form were not published in the occupational volume of the 1920 census, though the 1910 data have been redistributed according to the 1920 summary classification. All occupations except agriculture and domestic and personal service show increased percentages.

TABLE III
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL EMPLOYED BY OCCUPATION AND BY SEX 1870-1920

OCCUPATIONS	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALES					PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALES				
	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture.....	51.8	48.3	41.9	39.6	35.8	21.6	22.5	17.3	18.4	22.2
Professional.....		2.9	3.4	3.5	3.8		6.7	8.0	8.1	8.4
Domestic and Personal Service.....	16.0	15.2	13.6	14.7	9.1	58.0	44.6	42.6	39.4	32.2
Trade and Transportation.....	11.0	12.2	16.4	17.9	21.1	1.2	2.4	5.8	9.4	14.9
Manufacturing, Mining and Mechanical Industries.....	22.1	21.4	24.7	24.3	30.0	19.3	23.8	26.3	24.7	22.0

about the relative number of jobs available at different times during this period is that it is more likely to have increased than decreased.

The shift in numbers employed in different occupations between 1870 and 1920 is important in arriving at an estimate of technological unemployment. Table III gives the percentage of all the gainfully employed by occupation and by sex. This table shows that the proportion of gainfully employed males who were engaged in agriculture and domestic and personal service has declined, while the proportion of gainfully employed males who were engaged in the professions, trade and trans-

These figures indicate that any estimate of the number of gainfully employed in the country which is based upon reports from less than all types of occupations is unreliable. Such an index as that published by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics is inapplicable to any employment except manufacturing.

There is another fact which does not enter into published discussions of the decline in the percentage of gainfully employed over ten years of age from 1910 to 1920, but which is a considerable factor in the change from 53.3 per cent in 1910 to 50.3 per cent in 1920, and that is the decline in the number of children employed

because of child labor and compulsory school laws. The percentage of children ten to fifteen years of age who were gainfully employed in 1880 was 16.8 (1890 data not available), in 1900 it was 18.2 in 1910 it was 18.4, and in 1920 it was only 8.5. In 1910 children between ten and fifteen years of age who were employed constitute 5.2 per cent of the total gainfully employed in the country, but in 1920 the percentage was only 2.5. This represented a decrease from 1,990,225 in 1910 to 1,060,858 in 1920. There was very little change in the percentages of different age groups who were gainfully employed from 1900 to 1920 except in the 10-15 age group.

CONCLUSIONS

Tentative conclusions which may be drawn from the foregoing discussion and which bear upon technological unemployment are: (1) Workers are displaced by machines and by reorganization for administrative efficiency, but they appear to be reabsorbed into the economic structure after some loss of time in most cases; (2) studies, such as Myers's, reveal the nature of technological unemployment, but they cannot be taken as complete accounts of the effects of technological unemployment on individuals without the use of a control

group within the same industry who remain employed, because a certain proportion, if not all, of the cutters undoubtedly lose time for various reasons; (3) indexes of the productivity of labor do not necessarily reflect technological unemployment; (4) the percentage of the population above ten years of age which is gainfully employed has a slight upward trend between 1870 and 1920; (5) an examination of the shifts in numbers employed in different occupations indicates the fallacy of estimating the level of employment on the basis of reports from less than a representative sample of all types of occupations; (6) some decline in the percentage of the population gainfully employed in 1920 is due to the withdrawal of children between ten and fifteen years of age because of child labor and compulsory school laws enacted in the last two decades; (7) current predictions of the reflection of technological unemployment by the 1930 census gain little support from the census data of the last fifty years, and, even if the number gainfully employed is relatively less, due allowance must be made for the fact that the census was taken in the midst of a serious depression, whereas in preceding decades the census has without exception occurred at a time of better than normal business.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK AND ASSOCIATE GROUPS

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

June 14-20, 1931

See the Search After Values for special announcement

Other announcements of interest appear on pp. 478, 481, 483, 499, 514, 547, 553, 571.

HOW THE COMMUNITY IS ORGANIZED IN THE FACE OF
PRESSING RELIEF PROBLEMS

JAMES P. KIRBY

*Cleveland Press*RELUCTANCE TO ADMIT EXISTENCE OF UN-
EMPLOYMENT

IN COMMON with many another city, Cleveland is possessed of a peculiar shyness when certain subjects are discussed. It happens that Cleveland enjoys a peculiar distinction from the standpoint of the standards of its social work—in fact its reputation as a pioneering city in that field is well established throughout the country. But there is another side to Cleveland. It was demonstrated, in my judgment during the early part of the year, when in certain quarters, the subject of unemployment—although then in what might have been regarded as the incipient stage—was mentioned only covertly and among friends. The reason for this was the peculiar self-consciousness of certain industrialists and boosters in the community who feared that a public discussion of the subject might bring the city a bad name from the standpoint of business and industry throughout the rest of the country.

And so, out of that apprehension, there arose a period in which the community remained relatively stagnant in the face of the impending crisis. Directly, from other cities, came the word that business was bad and that men actually were out of work. Thereupon there began to be some public discussion and by spring the signs of the times were beginning to be recognized. But through the peculiar self-consciousness of certain groups, in my judgment, much valuable time was lost in which preparations might have been made to meet the emergency that was to come. However that may be, the full

force and effect of the situation was recognized and steps taken to meet it.

Now Cleveland is no better off, from one standpoint, than most other cities. We have as yet no device by which the actual extent of unemployment can be ascertained nor am I certain we have the disposition. In June, it was estimated by officials in charge of the census in this district that there were 50,000 out of work, based on their computations from census figures. That was only an estimate, however. There continued to be more discussion of the subject, now open and relatively frank. But official action as yet had taken no tangible form.

In November the Community Fund drive was scheduled to raise \$4,650,000 and a special fund of \$750,000 for the Associated Charities to meet the emergency of unemployment. Fund officials were gravely concerned, and one of the most unusual demonstrations of community spirit characterized the concerted community effort to put the drive over.

CONCERTED ACTION

Cleveland is the home of the fund idea. Here we have been accustomed to the extraordinary manifestation of community spirit in past years. But never in the 12 years I have been in Cleveland have I witnessed anything to compare with the spirit that went into the drive this year. The fund passed the goal.

Meanwhile, in the fall campaign that preceded the election in November, one of the largest series of bond issues ever put before the voters of the county was pro-

posed. It involved \$39,000,000 in bonds for public improvements over a five-year period of which \$31,500,000 was apportioned for the city as follows: \$1,250,000 for hospitals and sanitariums; \$2,500,000 for street openings and widening, \$5,000,000 for sewers and paving; \$3,250,000 for straightening the crooked Cuyahoga River; \$5,000,000 for trunk sewers; \$500,000 for improving the Mall; \$14,000,000 for a sewage disposal works. The bond issues were approved by all official and quasi-official bodies such as the Chamber of Commerce, citizens committees, etc. In addition, there were also put before the people the remainder of the 39,000,000 which consisted of \$1,850,000 for a new juvenile court-detention home building, and a \$6,000,000 bond issue for a new bridge over the river.

Thereupon began another of Cleveland's characteristic campaigns. "Put Cleveland to Work" was the slogan adopted to put the bonds across. The campaign was spectacular in the extreme, with the support of labor and practically every other civic body. The bond issues carried.

There was also put before the electorate a special tax levy or rather a continuance of a special tax levy for school buildings which also received the favor of the voters. With the passage of the bond issues and tax levies the following were the immediate results: The board of education already has allotted two school building contracts; one of which actually is under way and the other is to begin within the next week or two. The *Cleveland Press* made no secret of the fact, even during the campaign, that only a relatively small part of the huge bond issues could be put to work immediately. City council, in addition to the foregoing, faced with the grave emergency, passed special emergency bond issues of \$650,000 to provide emergency employment in city departments.

Engineering plans are under way on the principal projects of the major bond issues, and the city plan commission has before it the plans for the Mall development. It probably will be spring before any actual benefit to the unemployed can begin from those sources. Meanwhile, to provide shelter for homeless men, the county appropriated \$15,000 to provide for enlargements and repairs at the Wayfarers' Lodge operated by the Associated Charities. Councilmanic action of the passage of the special bond issues for temporary work resulted in notice being published for the registration of unemployed men for the special work in city parks, etc.

OPERATION OF RELIEF MEASURES

The first day of the registration 6,250 men registered at City Hall for three days for \$14.40. The second registration day, a cold snowy day, saw 11,200 men registered in long silent, hungry lines that stretched all day four deep practically all around the City Hall.

In the department of parks, 20,529 shifts of three days each at \$14.40 have been provided and in the service department, 12,724 shifts of three days each at the same rate. Of the first registration of 6,250, each man has received 15 days work. Of the second registration of 11,200 men, 8,300 have received one day, a very few two days, and the remainder have received no work. This was paid for out of the special councilmanic bond issues of which \$375,000 remains to be expended.

Meanwhile City Manager Morgan created the "Public Works Commission on Unemployment" comprising representatives of the city and county departments, the school system, the villages and surrounding municipalities, the churches and private industry and civic organizations.

This was at the beginning of December. Thereafter followed a spectacular cam-

paign to find jobs—any kind of jobs—for the unemployed. Radio broadcasts several times a day were addressed to householders by public officials, preachers, and private citizens. The responses thus far have been discouragingly low. The Associated Charities issued an appeal for clothing and called for 40,000 garments. These were collected by coal trucks and other private vehicles and deposited at the fire stations and police stations to be distributed through the Associated Charities. The response to this appeal was gratifying.

Meanwhile, the burden upon the Associated Charities became tremendous. The fine standards of case work which have been the pride of this organization and of the city, went into the discard. The principal job of the Associated Charities this winter has been to keep people fed and clothed. As one Associated Charity worker expressed to me, it has reached what she described as "disaster relief."

The city manager asked Employment Commissioner Seiple to make an investigation in other cities of the feasibility of apple selling and as a result of that investigation, this form of alleged unemployment relief was prohibited in Cleveland. Union labor made every effort to have the selection of men for emergency employment made from among their ranks. The manager's commission carried on its campaign for jobs of any kind and urged the adoption of the stagger system throughout industry in the city, but without much effect.

A study made by this writer, however, disclosed another angle to unemployment. This was the fact that crimes of acquisition during the winter have shown a marked increase, whereas crimes of violence against the person have declined. It was found further that the situation was complicated by the fact that each week there are being

released from the penal institutions of the state and the workhouse hundreds of men who return to Cleveland without funds or assistance of any kind, and are under the merely nominal supervision exercised by the parole authorities, and without jobs or even the prospects of jobs. There are at present approximately 800 men on parole from the workhouse; several hundred from the penitentiary and the reformatory, and more than 700 on probation from the criminal courts.

In the selection of the men for the special work in the city departments, the administration coöperated closely with the Associated Charities and gave special consideration to clients who were on the lists and recommended by the Associated Charities. The city administration has shown a commendable enterprise in its attempt to alleviate the conditions and it is to be regretted that as much could not be said for private industry. The Charities have been confronted with many situations which included families never before known to receive charity. The degree of family demoralization can only be imagined. Edward D. Lynde, executive secretary of the Associated Charities, told this writer that it will be three or four years before the last of the effects of the present emergency will have been erased.

Cleveland has done a much finer piece of work in the present emergency than other cities with which I am familiar. It is to be hoped that the survey to be begun in January by Mr. Howard Whipple Green will disclose the extent of unemployment. It is also to be hoped that, as a result, some means may be found whereby we may have a regular system of registration of unemployment to provide the basis for what we hope to see in the near future,—unemployment insurance in Ohio.

LIBRARY AND WORKSHOP

Special Book Reviews by L. L. BERNARD, ERNEST R. GROVES, FRANK H. HANKINS, CLARK WISSLER,
PHILLIPS BRADLEY, FLOYD N. HOUSE, MALCOLM WILLEY, AND OTHERS

INDEX TO BOOKS REVIEWED

	PAGE
Heredity and Environment.....	Frank H. Hankins 586
Jennings' THE BIOLOGICAL BASIS OF HUMAN NATURE; Crew's HEREDITY; Stibbe's AN INTRODUCTION TO PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY; Davenport and Steggerda's RACE CROSSING IN JAMAICA; Davis' EUGENICS AIMS AND METHODS; Tetman's GENETIC STUDIES OF GENIUS, VOL. III; Hirsch's TWINS: HEREDITY AND ENVIRONMENT; Gun's STUDIES IN HEREDITARY ABILITY.	
The Family.....	Ernest R. Groves 590
May's SOCIAL CONTROL OF SEX EXPRESSION; Robinson's SEVENTY BIRTH CONTROL CLINICS; Andrus and Peabody's PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS; Spaulding's TWENTY-FOUR VIEWS OF MARRIAGE; Schmiedeler's AN INTRODUCTORY STUDY OF THE FAMILY; Dexter's COLONIAL WOMEN OF AFFAIRS.	
Social Work in Theory and Practice.....	Wiley B. Sanders 593
Robinson's A CHANGING PSYCHOLOGY IN SOCIAL CASE WORK; Hurlin's SALARIES AND VACATIONS IN FAMILY CASE WORK IN 1929; Hall and Ellis' SOCIAL WORK YEAR BOOK, 1929; Eaton and Harrison's A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOCIAL SURVEYS; Thurston's THE DEPENDENT CHILD.	
Sociology Re-Bottled.....	Lee M. Brooks 596
Dow's SOCIETY AND ITS PROBLEMS; Ross' PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY; Hayes' SOCIOLOGY; Gillin and Blackmar's OUTLINES OF SOCIOLOGY; Bushee's SOCIAL ORGANIZATION; Steiner's COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION.	
Psychology, Historical and Applied.....	L. L. and J. S. Bernard 599
Murchison's A HISTORY OF PSYCHOLOGY IN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, VOL. I; Murchison's PSYCHOLOGIES OF 1930; Bernhard's PHILOSOPHISCHE UND NATURWISSENSCHAFTLICHE GRUNDLAGEN DER PSYCHOLOGIE; KUNTZ' THE AUTOMATIC NERVOUS SYSTEM; Harris and Others' THE MEASUREMENT OF MAN; Mercante's LA CRISIS DE LA PUBERTAD Y SUS CONSECUENCIAS PEDAGOGICAS; Walsh's CULTIVATING PERSONALITY; Dennison's THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE PERSONALITY; Wieland's DER FLIRT; Doliveira's ESPERANDO A MORTE; Marañon's AMOR, CONVENIENCIA Y EUGENESIA; Marinello's JUVENTUD Y VEJEZ; Laski's THE DANGERS OF OBEDIENCE; Mark's HUMAN NATURE AND HUMAN SURVIVAL; Young's SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY: AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOR; Krueger and Reckless' SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY; West and Skinner's PSYCHOLOGY FOR RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL WORKERS; Stieler's PERSON UND MASSE; Notch's KING MOB; Odegard's THE AMERICAN PUBLIC MIND; Markun's MRS. GRUNDY; Fülöp-Miller's THE POWER AND SECRET OF THE JESUITS; Hollingworth's ABNORMAL PSYCHOLOGY.	
The Child.....	Gladys Hoagland Groves 605
Tisdall's THE HOME CARE OF THE INFANT AND CHILD; Blatz and Bott's THE MANAGEMENT OF YOUNG CHILDREN; Deering THE CREATIVE HOME.	
Richmond's THE LONG VIEW.....	Gertrude Vail 607
Addams' THE SECOND TWENTY YEARS AT HULL HOUSE.....	Katharine Jocher 608
Hewes' THE CONTRIBUTION OF ECONOMICS TO SOCIAL WORK.....	Miriam Keeler 609
Berglund, Starnes, and de Vyver's LABOR IN THE INDUSTRIAL SOUTH.....	Holland Thompson 609
Black's RESEARCH IN PUBLIC FINANCE IN RELATION TO AGRICULTURE.....	Clarence Heer 611
Davies' SOCIAL CONTROL OF THE MENTALLY DEFICIENT.....	Harry W. Crane 612
Waller's THE OLD LOVE AND THE NEW.....	James W. Woodard 613
New Books Received.....	614

HEREDITY AND ENVIRONMENT

FRANK H. HANKINS

Smith College

- THE BIOLOGICAL BASIS OF HUMAN NATURE. By H. S. Jennings. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1930. 384 pp. \$4.00.
- HEREDITY. By F. A. E. Crew. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1930. 119 pp. 60 cents.
- AN INTRODUCTION TO PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY. By E. P. Stibbe. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1930. 199 pp. \$3.50.
- RACE CROSSING IN JAMAICA. By C. P. Davenport and Morris Steggerda. Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1929. 516 p. \$7.00.
- EUGENICS AIMS AND METHODS. By Henry Davis, S. J. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 79 pp.
- GENETIC STUDIES OF GENIUS. VOL. III, THE PROMISE OF YOUTH. By Lewis M. Terman and Others. The Stanford University Press, 1930. 508 pp. \$6.00.
- TWINS: HEREDITY AND ENVIRONMENT. By N. D. M. Hirsch. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930. 159 pp. \$2.00.
- STUDIES IN HEREDITARY ABILITY. By W. T. J. Gun. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1928. 288 pp. \$2.50.

I

The very excellent book by Jennings has been so extensively reviewed and read that little need be said of it here. It is by all odds the most satisfactory single treatment of its topic yet published. Parts of the earlier chapters on the mechanisms of inheritance are somewhat too technical for popular consumption, but the reader who persists through them will find a vast range of interesting matter spread before him. It is highly questionable whether the view set forth on pp. 8 and 17 that one gene is responsible for feeble-mindedness has been demonstrated. Feeble-mindedness does not appear to be as simple as that. In passing one may note also that the paragraphs at the bottom of p. 44 and the top of p. 47 do not seem to agree with each other nor with the figures on p. 46. Likewise on p. 48, the statement

"children that receive an X from the bared-eyed ancestor have bar eyes" does not seem correct and contradicts previous statements; it depends on which X the children receive.

On the moot question of the relative influence of heredity and environment in producing individual mental and temperamental differences the author holds that both factors are significant. He sometimes fails to be as specific with reference to the effects of the two factors as he might be, and his anxiety to maintain a balanced position occasionally leads to statements that seem contradictory. In the final chapter, in contrasting the mechanical and the emergent evolutionary viewpoints, Professor Jennings adopts a curiously anachronistic conception of the former. Nevertheless, this is a most useful book. It is enjoying wide popularity, which is not only a tribute to the book, but, what is socially vastly more significant, an omen of a more adult intelligence with respect to biological matters on the part of the American public.

Crew's book is small in size, narrow in scope, but solid in substance. It is a popular but scholarly treatment of heredity, covering the basic theories, heredity in relation to sex, mutations and the question of the inheritance of acquired characters, plant and animal breeding, and heredity in relation to man. Even the informed layman will find in it many points of interest. There is a slip on p. 41 where the number "56" clearly should be "64." The reference (pp. 82-83) to mice that in succeeding generations learned more and more quickly to come for food at the sound of a bell, reminds one of Kammerer who

so reported but afterwards recanted; or does the author refer to McDougall's study? In any case, the author's treatment is critically sound. There is a very broad statement on p. 107, in which the author oversteps the limits of considered scientific statement, to the effect, "There can be no doubt that the environment is not of paramount importance in determining the characters of individuals, of societies, or of races." Does it not depend on what character traits one is considering?

Prof. Stibbe, who is Senior Demonstrator in Anatomy at University College, London, has written his "Introduction" partly for the amateur who has an interest in museum collections and partly as the basis for a first course in physical anthropology. In Part I he treats man's evolution and his relation with the other primates. Part II is devoted to human palaeontology including both fossil apes and fossil men. In Part III are fifty pages on the methods of anthropometry and their practical application to racial discrimination. A unique feature is the parallel comparison of the skulls and skeletons of man and the man-like apes, pages 33-93, the traits of man appearing on the left-hand page and of the apes on the right-hand. There are a number of excellent illustrations and a glossary.

The Davenport-Steggerda study is an extremely thorough anthropometrical investigation of three groups of Jamaican adult agriculturists, namely, Blacks, Whites, and Black-White Hybrids. In addition measurements were made of several hundred children of varying ages. The study is comprehensive in that it deals not merely with physical traits and development but with psychological, physiological, and eugenical matters. An attempt was made to equalize social status by choosing only agricultural folk. It

seems clear, however, that this resulted in the selection of an inferior class of whites. For example the mean cranial capacity of white males in cubic centimeters was found to be only 1376, while that of brown males (white Negro hybrids) was 1404, and that of Negro males, 1419. The white capacity contrasts sharply with figures around 1500 usually given for Europeans, while that for Negroes is distinctly larger than is usually given. This difference may, in part, be accounted for by the fact that different formulae were used for the three groups.

Among the general conclusions one notes that the brown show a much greater variability than either whites or blacks. The authors stress the point that high variability of hybrids should be expected only with respect to those traits having different gene factors in the two parent races. There is evidence of dominance of some Negro traits in crosses and of some white traits, but the matter is not entirely clear because back-crosses with the parent races are not available. No evidence of hybrid vigor was found, a result not surprising in a population that has been mixing for many generations. The female-male ratio for numerous traits shows that sex dimorphism expresses itself in different traits in whites and blacks. The psychological tests seem so clear "as to warrant the conclusion that they put the burden of proof on the shoulders of those who would deny fundamental differences, on the average, in the mental capacities of Gold Coast Negroes and Europeans." (P. 469) One very surprising conclusion that needs confirmation is that a somewhat larger percentage of the browns are muddle-headed than of either Negroes or whites. There are summaries of other researches, a bibliography, numerous photographs and an index. This is undoubtedly one of the very best contributions yet

made to the difficult subject of race hybridism.

Eugenics Aims and Methods is a Jesuitical statement of Catholic opposition to sterilization of mental defectives. In a word it finds that such an operation is immoral because it attacks the bodily integrity of an innocent citizen, favors segregation (which appears to be a justifiable restriction of individual liberty), and finds that the ancient Catholic morality solves eugenic problems. The book gives some promise that those who derive their wisdom from the infallible fountain at Rome may in the course of another century begin to see social problems more scientifically and practically in that it sees much good in eugenic aims and does not claim for every man the natural right to marry and procreate. In final analysis there is no ultimate basis for morality except the findings of science.

The series of volumes published by Professor Terman are among the most important contributions yet made to the intricate problems of individual differences in personality traits and achievement. They are in the Galton tradition and entirely worthy thereof. In Vol. I was presented the results of a first study made in 1921-2 of one thousand gifted children selected from 250,000 California school-children. In Vol. II, Miss Catherine Cox gave results of extensive inquiries into the childhood of many of the world's geniuses, but necessarily by methods not entirely convincing. Now in Vol. III is presented a follow-up study of the thousand gifted children made in 1927-8. Needless to say it is by far the most interesting of the three volumes. In addition to mass results of tests of intelligence for the main group and certain control groups, there are special chapters on educational progress, scholastic tests, vocational interests, personality traits, health, vital statistics, etc.,

numerous individual biographies and a very original but quite unconvincing study of literary juvenilia with a scale for rating products of juvenile literary genius and comparisons with the childhood and youthful products of the literary geniuses of England and America.

One can only hint at the wealth of material here presented. It is the result of several years' work by a very able group of investigators. The whole research to date has cost \$60,000, and in view of the vast sums being spent these days in many other directions, this has been a very economical and fruitful venture. Gifted children are found to be superior in health and physique to the generality of children and to come from stock likewise excellent in intellect and physique. It will be recalled that an I.Q. of at least 140 was necessary for inclusion in the gifted group; their siblings average about 123. The gifted children are notably free from emotional instability, lack of sociability, or other forms of personality defect or social maladjustment, though instances are cited of extreme deviation from the norm with respect to truthfulness, honesty, obedience, industry, etc. One had in the six years committed suicide, one was in a reform school, and several were found so lacking in ambition or ability to integrate their activities and interests that they were drifting aimlessly from one job to another. In mental masculinity and femininity the gifted boys ranked on a par with other boys of like age, while the gifted girls deviated significantly from the norm for their sex toward masculinity. These children were accelerated in school grade by about 14 per cent of their age and in scholarship by more than 40 per cent. While the boys were found to have maintained as a rule the same I.Q. level as six years earlier (some had gone up and some down), the girls more frequently showed

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a drop in I.Q. with adolescence or soon thereafter. It was found that, although the sex ratio among gifted children was 116 boys to 100 girls in pre-high-school ages, the ratio became 212 boys to 100 girls at the high-school level. There is here considerable indication that the physiological changes of pubescence levy a larger toll on the bodily energies of girls than of boys.

In many respects the families of these children reflect in their histories the whole gamut of life's fatal exigencies: death, disease, divorce, poverty, race prejudice (one Japanese-American marriage includes four of the gifted children), and bad judgment. But on the other hand there is an extraordinary amount of brilliant success already achieved in many directions and they are only now beginning to attain those ages where achievement begins. Professor Terman's program calls for further follow-up studies about 1940 and ten or twenty years later (the latter preferably, he says, by some one with the psychological outlook of a later generation). Even if these are never carried out—and they certainly will be unless the spirit of research is eclipsed by some unforeseen tragedy—the present results warrant every effort to discover gifted children, and to study special methods for their education. They warrant the assumptions of eugenicists as to the primary sources of genius and widespread education of the public in the rightfulness of eugenic considerations in marriage.

The study by Hirsch is based on ingenious reasoning. Recognizing, as have many others, that twins constitute excellent material for the study of the relative influence of heredity and environment in the determination of individual differences, he reasoned thus: If one compare similar (identical) twins reared in similar environments with dissimilar (fraternal) twins

reared in similar environments, the average differences between the latter (when each twin is paired with its twin mate in physical and mental measurements) as compared with the former will give a measure of the persistent force of heredity. If, in like manner, one compare similar twins in similar environments with similar twins in dissimilar environments, the average differences in cephalic index, I.Q., etc., will give a measure of the influence of environment on the traits studied. Finally, he argued, if similar twins living in dissimilar environments are contrasted with dissimilar twins living in similar environments, and if the former are more alike than the latter, additional weight will be given to the evidence that heredity is more influential than environment in determining physical, mental, and temperamental traits. He found 58 pairs of dissimilar (presumably dizygotic) twins who had been reared together, 38 pairs of similar (presumably monozygotic) twins who had been reared together, and five pairs of similar twins reared apart. His cases were "selected" so that his similar twins tended to be very similar and his dissimilar very dissimilar. He concludes that heredity is several times as potent as environment, but he has not made out an entirely clear case. The pairs of similar twins reared apart are very few in number and in most cases they had lived together until well grown or mature. The first 50 pages give a useful summary of previous studies.

Gun's *Studies* purports to trace the inheritance of various traits through the intricate ramifications of family pedigrees. It pretends to be a contribution to the study of hereditary abilities in the Galton tradition, but fails to bring conviction to the reader in many cases. Traits studied include licentiousness, mental brilliance (wit), female seductiveness, administrative

ability, philosophical and scientific abilities, high general ability, etc. These are traced through great-grandmothers, second step-cousins, illegitimate unions, as well as direct lines both male and female through the centuries. The case for heredity is certainly far from clear in many instances. In fact the author is struck frequently by incongruities. This does not prove that hereditary factors may not be the true explanation, for they are very complex, become badly mixed in the more or less indiscriminate crossing of strains, and may segregate out in unexpected ways. Thus William Randolph of the late sixteenth century proved to be an excellent business man but attained no great distinction; one of his sons showed modest poetical gifts but died of dissipation at the age of thirty; another was the undistinguished father of another William Randolph who came to Virginia in 1674 and became the progenitor of a distinguished family. Were there in the American Randolphs qualities traceable to the Elizabethan William? Or, was distinction due to traits imported through marriage? Or, is the great name of Randolph an accident of time and place? The last question undoubtedly requires an emphatic negative. The proof lies in the long list of able Randolphs and their cousins and uncles, including Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, "Light Horse" Harry Lee, and his son Robert E. Much can, I think, be attrib-

uted to the aristocratic tradition which reduced panmixia and helped to preserve talented strains. But much may in some cases be attributed to family position and connection which give some men—provided always that they had the ability—a chance to play a great historical rôle. The author retells the story of the Edwards-Dwight lineage, but one misses the name of Elizabeth Tuttle, whom Davenport made famous twenty years ago. The reason is that the lineage is now traced through the Stoddards, one of whom Esher, married Timothy Edwards and became the mother of Jonathan. It makes little difference, for both women seem to have been out of the ordinary. In these strains names have figured in Appleton's *Encyclopaedia* or in *Who's Who* for eleven generations. That is scarcely an accident; nor can it be due primarily to family connection.

Gun finds that distinguishing ability is just as likely to descend through the female as through the male line. Genetics supports this conclusion. He finds that highly specialized abilities, as artistic, are rarely inherited, whereas high general ability may persist for generations, as may also capacity for leadership. High athletic ability has also often run in the same families. On the whole this is an interesting *pot pourri* of genealogical data but it adds little to what we learned from Galton, that superiority often appears generation after generation in the same pedigrees.

THE FAMILY

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SOCIAL CONTROL OF SEX EXPRESSION. By Geoffrey May. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1931. 307 pp. \$3.00.

SEVENTY BIRTH CONTROL CLINICS. By Caroline Hadley Robinson. Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Company, 1930. 351 pp. \$4.00.

PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS. By Ruth Andrus and May E. Peabody. New York: The John Day Company, 1930. 168 pp.

TWENTY-FOUR VIEWS OF MARRIAGE. Edited by Clarence A. Spaulding. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930. \$2.50.

AN INTRODUCTORY STUDY OF THE FAMILY. By Edgar Schmiedeler. New York: The Century Company, 1930. 410 pp.

COLONIAL WOMEN OF AFFAIRS. Rev. Edition. By Elisabeth Anthony Dexter. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931. 223 pp. \$3.50.

May's book is one that few men could write. It required the background of both a lawyer and a sociologist, and, in addition, a well-tempered scientific judgment. In no other place will the reader find in concise and clear form so much information regarding the history of the English and American attempt to control sex behavior. The first three chapters deal with the doctrine of sex repression among primitive peoples, the ancient Hebrews and the early Christians. The next section of eight chapters traces the evolution of sex control in English law, and the third part of the book is devoted to the doctrine of sex regulation in pre-revolutionary America and in the United States at the present time.

The third chapter, dealing with the sex doctrine of early Christianity, and the last, which discusses the present situation in the United States, are the most controversial, and the attitude of most readers toward the book as a whole will be determined by their reaction to these two interpretations. The author believes that the gospel teaching of the New Testament added nothing to the Hebrew code of sex conduct. It was Paul rather than Jesus who gave early Christianity its distinctive sex doctrine, and this was an antagonism toward sex as such. Due to his dualistic notion of flesh and spirit, his teaching was more than mere expediency on account of the peculiar situation of the early church and his earlier belief that the second coming of Jesus would put an end to historic civilization. The dualism which Paul injected was not original. It was present in all the religious systems of

the East and was in accord with the philosophy of Plato. It begat an asceticism which Jesus had in no way encouraged. Through Augustine this dualism was built into the English tradition and law.

In his analysis of the present situation, the author states that the American laws concerning sex are today essentially those of the Puritan, with a change only in the form of punishment for sex offense. In spite of this persistency of the legal system of the pre-revolutionary period, its administration, due to a different public attitude, has changed. The laws of repression, which originally were an attempt to regulate personal contact, are now used not to control strictly private sexual relations but to prevent commercialized vice. Meanwhile, the Puritan's tradition in regard to sex expression is dying more slowly than it did in England, but it is as surely passing. The reason for this is the lack of social need for such doctrine of sex. In regard to this the author states: "The laws restraining voluntary non-marital sex expression served a real purpose in integrating and maintaining family relationships at times when, but for restraint, the benefits of family organization might have had difficulty in developing. Some of those benefits have now been superseded by other social developments; some have been so firmly established as to depend no longer upon the criminal law for their continuance; with the rise of the sciences of psychology and sociology some have ceased to be questions of legal repression and have become questions of medical and social regulation. Though the forms of control have changed, the fact of control, less tangible, still persists."

As compared with such a study as Paul LaCroix's *History of Prostitution*, this book is much too brief to become the final authority in its field, but it uncovers a

challenging task for scholarship in an almost virgin field.

May refers to the modern use of contraceptives as one of the influences registering in the changing theory of sex. Robinson's book brings together much needed information concerning this trend toward birth control. The book is a foretaste of the valuable material that we can expect from the National Committee on Maternal Health. It gives the first complete and authoritative statement of birth control practices in this country and Europe, and will be welcomed by both the advocate and the opponent of the use of contraceptives. There is nothing hectic in the presentation. It is not polemic. Although the arguments for contraceptives are well buttressed, the reader is impressed with the sincerity of the author's effort to bring to the public the information it needs regarding the functioning of birth control clinics.

Part One contains a survey of clinics, both in Europe and this country. Part Two discusses the social implication of birth control. The unemotional level upon which the author keeps her book and her freedom from exaggeration is well expressed in the following quotation: "We have compared birth control in its simple, direct results to an improvement such as the invention of anesthetics. But just as anesthetics can have little effect on the fundamental problems of health, so it is possible that birth control cannot end, but can only slightly retard the increasing pressure of population. It is a tendency of the human mind to be too much impressed with a novelty. Thus it was urged against anesthetics that they would abolish from the world the discipline of all pain. But in the outcome quite sufficient mental and other suffering has remained and the suicide rate is no less. This illustration shows how much

surer we can be of simple, direct results than of sweeping universal changes such as the abolition of all poverty and pain or the end of population growth."

Andrus and Peabody have given us a book that has grown out of the experience of the authors in conducting classes in child study, and for extension courses it is the most useful outline yet published. After a statement of the objective of such instruction, the authors develop their material by nine study units, each dealing with a major problem of family life. Each unit is composed of summaries of excerpts from many writers and so arranged as to give a logical sequence for class discussion. Each unit contains a well-selected bibliography, enabling the reader, if he so wishes, to extend his study through a first-hand contact with the literature.

The composition of this outline makes it best adapted for groups that are willing to undertake serious study of the subject of child care, since it demands more of reader and instructor than is usually true of such material. Because of this, its successful use will depend upon the degree of skill and background furnished by the class leader.

In so short a period as the past year there has been evidence of a more constructive and open-minded attitude on the part of church leaders toward problems of the American family and marriage. *Twenty-Four Views of Marriage* bears testimony that this is true among the Presbyterians. As the title suggests, the book brings together in twenty-four chapters as many contributions from various authors who have written on marriage and matrimonial problems. The liberal attitude of the editor in his choice of material is the marked feature of the book. A collection including such different interpretations as those of Popenoe, Lindsey, Key, Brill, Russell, and Royden attests the sincerity

of his effort to put before churchmen material that will stir their thought and give them some understanding of contemporary thinking in the field of marriage and the family. The book will prove an excellent source book for study groups, especially those conducted by churches.

The volume by Schmiedeler, published in *The Century Catholic College Texts*, edited by John A. Lapp, bears testimony to an awakening interest in American family problems on the part of the Roman Catholic Church and a recognition of the fact that the family life of members of this faith responds in some degree to the impact of changing social circumstances. The book is written for both pastor and parent and differs from the average treatment only in that its portrayal of American family life is put against the background of the teachings of the church and the influence of religion.

The book is developed in three parts, dealing with family integration, disintegration, and reintegration. The practical purposes of the book influence its content, but this in no degree lessens its value as a college text. It is presumed by the author that the student starting courses in the family expects to receive personal profit from his study and that a frank recognition of this is an advantage in any text. Aside from the treatment of particular topics, such as divorce and birth control,

there is nothing that makes it exclusively adapted to the use of Catholics. It is a well-written, high-minded, and constructive interpretation of American family experience, written by a scholar who frankly reveals his confidence in the permanent value of the home in the following words: "Every child needs a certain amount of love to thrive on, and attendants cannot reproduce the intimate relations which are normally found between parents and their children. In other words an incubator cannot supply the intimate contacts which form a child's personality. These contacts are possible only in a normal home."

Colonial Women of Affairs will interest students of the history of the American family. It shows that the common notion of the economic dependence and social inequality of the colonial woman has been exaggerated. The material gathered from original sources chiefly reflects New England. The author does not aim at describing the life of colonial women who had interests outside their homes but at proving that there were women in pre-revolutionary America who had independence and initiative and that their status was accepted by the society of their day. One wishes that the author had included experiences of women in the southern colonies.

SOCIAL WORK IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

WILEY B. SANDERS

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A CHANGING PSYCHOLOGY IN SOCIAL CASE WORK. By Virginia P. Robinson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1930. 204 pp. \$2.50.

SALARIES AND VACATIONS IN FAMILY CASE WORK IN 1929. By Ralph G. Hurlin. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930. 24 pp. 10 cents.

SOCIAL WORK YEAR BOOK, 1929. By Fred S. Hall and Mabel B. Ellis. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930. 600 pp. \$4.00.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOCIAL SURVEYS. By Allen Eaton and Shelby M. Harrison. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930. 467 pp. \$3.50.

THE DEPENDENT CHILD. By Henry W. Thurston. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. 337 pp. \$3.00.

In attempting to trace the psychological aspects of social case work during the past

fifty years, the author of the first volume listed above finds that it "presents a picture almost kaleidoscopic in its shifting emphasis," and "as one surveys the field in 1930 in search of recognized standards, common philosophy, and accepted practices, one is struck by the rapid changes in point of view and method which put an interpretation out of date before it can be formulated; and again by the confusing differences in point of view, philosophy and method in use at the same time in different sections of the country and in different agencies." This little volume, which is really a philosophical discussion of case work theory and should appeal especially to teachers of case work, is divided into two parts. The first dealing with the "emergence of the individual" in the period before 1920, and the second part dealing with the "emergence of relationship" in the decade 1920-1930.

The general theme is that case work is emerging from the "sociological stage" represented by Mary Richmond's *Social Diagnosis*, which is primarily concerned with the external environment or situational aspects of the family problem, and is entering upon the "psychological stage," which attempts to arrive at an understanding of the personality and behavior problems of the individual client, through the use of psychological, psychiatric, and psycho-analytic methods. It is shown quite clearly, however, that social workers have no generally accepted norm of personality growth, nor have they evolved a psychological technique of their own, but draw freely upon the various schools of psychological thought. The growing emphasis upon the behavior aspects of all case work problems is a sound one, but it should not be used exclusively. After all, we are still in the experimental stage in working out a science of human behavior, and it would be unwise to discard *Social Diagnosis* until the "new psychol-

ogy" produces a clear-cut, practical manual of case work to take its place (The reviewer is cynical enough to believe that the rank and file of social case workers have not yet caught up with Mary Richmond). The author's loose and rather indiscriminate use of the terms *psychological*, *psychiatric*, and *sociological* (for example, the naïve assumption that *Social Diagnosis* represents the *sociological* approach) adds confusion to an otherwise suggestive and stimulating volume.

Those concerned with raising the standards of social work and putting it upon a professional basis will be discouraged with the results of the survey made in May, 1929, of the salaries of 3,500 full-time workers in 260 family case work agencies in the United States. The annual salaries are given for the more common positions in the case work organizations, grouped according to the size of the agency. Beginning with the smaller agencies and extending by various gradations to those employing fifty or more workers, the median salaries for the different positions are as follows:—executives, \$1,500-\$7,250; case work supervisors, \$1,900-\$3,050; district secretaries, \$1,920-\$2,180; case workers, \$1,300-\$1,560; case workers in training, \$780-\$1,200. The salaries of the women executives are conspicuously lower than those of the men. With the exception of the executive position, the workers are so poorly paid that they can not borrow money for two or three years of training in a professional school of social work with any expectation of paying it back from their salaries, nor can they assume any share in the burden of support of a family or other dependents. The bulk of family case work, with its intimate family relationships, must be handled, therefore, by spinsters, who, because of this economic handicap, are denied family experiences of their own.

Although social workers have had a

national conference for more than a half century, and have had professional training schools for three decades, it was not until 1929 that a national agency, the Russell Sage Foundation, compiled a year book of the various activities of social work. The book is not an encyclopedia of social problems, but rather a "record of the organized efforts in the United States to deal with such problems," in other words, a comprehensive, national directory of social agencies. The authors, wisely, perhaps, make no attempt to define the field of social work, but are governed by "practical considerations." This, no doubt, explains the inclusion of such topics as the theatre, motion pictures, nature study, music, seamen (but not soldiers), southern mountaineers (but not Creoles or Georgia "crackers"), epilepsy, and organized labor, along with such accepted social work activities as mothers' aid, crippled children, and family welfare societies.

Part I of the *Year Book* contains a long list of distinguished contributors, each an authority in his chosen field, followed by the topical articles arranged alphabetically according to Cutter's *Rules for a Dictionary Catalogue*. Part II contains a directory of 455 national agencies, public and private, with a description of the purpose and activities, and publications of each—a veritable mine of information and an invaluable aid to any social work agency. Training schools of social work will also find this a valuable reference book, though not well adapted to use as a text in the class-room. Present plans call for biennial issues of the *Year Book*, with less emphasis upon history in subsequent volumes.

Another valuable reference book for the social worker's library is a *Bibliography of Social Surveys*, consisting of 2,775 titles of fact-finding studies, which had been made the basis for social action, and which had been completed up to January 1, 1928. The titles listed by subjects and localities are divided into two major groupings, general social surveys numbering 154, and 2,621 surveys in specialized fields. Of the specialized studies, those relating to schools and education head the list with 625, then follows health and sanitation with 469; industrial conditions, 296; city and regional planning, 155; delinquency and correction, 152; housing, 112; city, county and state administration, 88; child welfare, 68; recreation, 53, etc. Among these surveys every state in the Union is represented, and even some foreign countries.

Beginning with feudal times, Dr. Thurston traces quite realistically the progressive stages in the care of dependent children in England and the United States. The indenture system, mixed almshouse care, orphan asylums, and foster home placement, are treated in great detail, including some hitherto unpublished autobiographical statements, and descriptions by contemporary observers. While the book is loosely arranged and lacks balance, with a preponderance of New York sources, it will serve as a useful supplement to Homer Folks' little book on child care three decades ago. It is difficult to understand Mr. Thurston's omission of mothers' aid as a modern method of child care. Schools of social work must continue their search for a comprehensive text-book on child welfare.

SOCIOLOGY RE-BOTTLED

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SOCIETY AND ITS PROBLEMS. (Third Edition Revised.)
By G. S. DOW. New York: Crowell, 1929. 707
pp. \$3.00.

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY. (Revised Edition.) By E.
A. ROSS. New York: Century, 1930. 592 pp.
\$4.00.

SOCIOLOGY. By E. C. HAYES. New York: Appleton,
1930. 787 pp. \$3.50.

OUTLINES OF SOCIOLOGY. (Third Edition.) By J.
L. GILLIN and F. W. BLACKMAR. New York: Mac-
millan, 1930. 692 pp. \$3.00.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. By F. A. BUSHEE. New
York: Holt, 1930. 356 pp.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION. (Revised.) By J. F.
STEINER. New York: Century, 1930. 453 pp.
\$2.75.

As already revealed in their older works there is nothing *laissez-faire* about these sociologists. They indicate in every chapter the dynamic viewpoint. For them scientific effort justifies itself only in so far as it contributes ultimately to social welfare. They share, however, the general conviction that society needs much more objective study, and less ill-advised relief and reform. As to the latter there is evidence aplenty of the vapidness of social knowledge among the performers in newspaper columns, in legislative halls, in court procedure, and in much that is called social welfare. On the other hand professional schools, in their increasing emphasis upon sociologically prepared students, are indicating the important place which social study holds today. Just as surely as Redi, Pasteur, and others have debunked old theories and methods, and poured light upon real sources of infection, so have sociological investigators been exposing scientifically some erroneous assumptions in the social realm. For the early solution of problems and the achievement of better adjustment, the sociologist

is as eager as anyone, but he *will* be objective in giving his viewpoints and in doing his research. Sociology itself will neither be arrested nor stampeded. With hopeful and constructive *hypotheses* as starting points, it will continue to study human society inductively and to present findings,—to be sipped or swallowed according to a developing social taste for facts,—whether or not the research leads staggering humanity to immediate relief or to some "far off divine event."

Dow: Though the bulk of the book is altered scarcely at all, this fifteenth printing provides an excellent bibliography; new material on culture and social processes; a modified treatment of the Negro, immigration, crime, the family, and the instincts; more emphasis on backgrounds and factual data; somewhat less of prophecy and evaluation; and fewer "nevers" and "unquestionables." "Shoulds" and "oughts" still abound, however. Question lists are omitted, a regrettable lack since they might have displaced much of the illustrative matter and thus encourage the student to think more for himself. The new chapter on cultural forces includes much minutiae but none of the conceptual terms of Sumner, Ogburn, and Wissler whose works appear at the end of the chapter. Nordic leanings are less pronounced than formerly, and environment stands up more strongly. The section on psychology staggers between McDougall and Bernard in a bewilderment primarily traceable, of course, to the servings of psychology in general. The old instincts are propped up, only less jauntily, as viewpoints. With them, the habit interpretation of pugnacity, self-assertion, et als.,

(p. 415) does not mix well. Thomas' wish patterns are drained off in nine lines and Watson's emotion patterns are ignored. Throughout the book Cooley, Ellwood, Giddings, Gillin, Ross, and Ward are drawn upon heavily. Even though the old tends do submerge the new, the sociologist and social worker will find useful and interesting material in the revision.

Ross: The product of twenty-seven years of painstaking thought stands before us in systematic array, less in cubic content than the original of 1920 but as sparkling as ever. Certain ingredients have been drawn off, other new ones added; the instinct psychology is discarded, yet not completely since the maternal, pugnacious, and submissive survive. Among the newer features, even flag-pole sitters, the author has put in more present-day material, also some important features of cultural anthropology, a bit of social mobility from Sorokin, more of inter-group conflict, and a larger consideration of the place of revolution. A principle is set up, then illustrative material is put in to clarify it. The invigorated student will raise questions such as these: Why has the treatment of *Class and Caste* been separated from the long discussion of conflict by the section on *Coöperation and Organization*? Isn't it retribution where he refers to the "system which lets so many rascals escape their just deserts." The student who questions the absence of reference material on moot points such as the "only" child, will have to be reminded that this is a text on principles. Ultra-pure sociologists will make a wry face when they get the remedial flavor at the end of several chapters. This revision, like the original edition and the *Outlines*, is not for beginning students or for soft pedagogics but for those who will, like Professor Ross, think and work spiritedly to make courses

in sociology steady, coherent, and progressive. (As of March 1931, Century has published *Tests and Challenges in Sociology*, 102 pp., by Professor Ross, a manual of questions and propositions for use with his text.)

Hayes: Proof enough of a useful text, the older *Introduction* had been printed twenty-five times in the fourteen years prior to the death of Professor Hayes in 1928. By that time he had finished Part I of this revision. Associates and friends have completed the work guided by manuscript notes and published articles left by the author. In general the old labels remain but the content is changed to pass the test of recent theory and research. Less space is given to the instinctivists and more to Pavlov, Freud, Watson, Bernard, and Jennings. Predispositions displace instincts. Values are as important as ever but the ethical urge is less conspicuous. Warnings are posted about too much faith in the quantitative method, and also on the tendency for sociology to be reduced to such a limited specialty as social psychology. However, the book's definition of sociology with emphasis on interconditioning sounds very much like social psychology. Here the text would point out that sociology stresses the *result* of social interaction. As for the future, since the other social sciences are becoming more dynamically human, sociology can go on as a correlating discipline and as a science dealing with the varied problems of the community, family, population, crime, etc. Sociology has a right to be philosophical; in fact, it is suggested that there may be instances where it will trickle back into departments of philosophy. The arrangement of the book is consistent with the emphasis on sociology as a science of synthesis. Science, says the book, is unfinished unless it is applied.

Gillin and Blackmar: Except for the last

chapter and some insertions and shifts earlier in the book, a little diluting here, a little strengthening there, the old wine stays in the bottles on the front of the shelf. A glance at the references will suffice. Younger men and recent material are comparatively absent, a fact true even of the new chapters on culture, population, and human urges. Old Part VI is absorbed into the reconstructed third chapter on methods, yet none of the new works on methodology are to be found, though some of them were published in 1929 or earlier. The bibliography is otherwise incomplete: initials are frequently omitted from authors' names, old editions are listed instead of revisions, and there is some inaccuracy of name and title creeping in. As to the book proper: unlike Hayes it admits the social forces; there is more deterministic flavor both as to culture and social laws; community and neighborhood receive new and early consideration; Sumnerian ideas seem more prominent, but with Ward and Giddings no less in the forefront than formerly. Sociology deals with "principles and methods which apply to the whole (social) structure," it includes social pathology, its strong right arm is social psychology, it is held the most recent of several coordinate sciences, with cultural anthropology treating of the "achievements of men as represented in customs, mores, and institutions. . . ." On this last we hear applause from Middletown and a faint whisper in unison from Ward and Sumner: "What's in a name?" Imbibing the book in class would be better proof of its value than this solitary treatment. The revision is now squarely dynamic; it wants sociology to provide for the understanding and the improvement of society. It is pleasant reading but it would be a better text if it contained less of the old and more of the new.

Bushee: Here is a fresh and different product, not a revision of the 577 page work of 1923 (*Principles of Sociology*) but a book whose purpose is to aid anyone to understand present-day social organization, a text that aims to draw thought and work from the student rather than to pour into him such a dose of abstraction and encyclopaedic detail that he is confused and repelled. With this volume and a bit of instruction he can learn something in the laboratory of his own community, for, says the author: "It is in a sense a community study." Its pages are quite free from names, concepts, and catch-phrases; it can discuss eugenics without mentioning Malthus or birth control explicitly. Yet the chapters close with topics and questions which penetrate definitely into the vitals of society. However, it seems as though more germane reference material could have been included in the bibliography, especially on the family, without danger of clogging the text. One noticeable omission is *Middletown*, a work which provides much factual and suggestive material for the community student. Professor Bushee's older book is similar to the general run of texts, but this work, appropriate to its name, emphasizes problems connected with economic organization, family, population, government, justice, education, recreation, religion, science and art, and the interdependence of social institutions. The first three chapters deal with sociology as a science, and with the forms, purposes, and trends of social groups. The book is not a soporific for sophomoric minds but a stimulating volume which has much the same flavor as the work of the benevolent Cooley.

Steiner: A good book only five years old is now improved. Extensive realignment of former textual content has been made and a large amount of fresh material added

in the form of new chapters. City planning, health work, and the industrial community are among the newer treatments. The bibliography, never stale, has been amplified to include issues of 1930. Since the fundamental nature of the community is revealed only when it is seen in action, the author has utilized some of the best recent studies in the field. He again emphasizes the importance of studying the sociological, psychological, and economic factors which underlie and determine community life. Without such knowledge neither the teacher nor the social worker can understand community problems. In the discussion of public welfare it is pointed out that the weaknesses so far have been

incidental rather than inherent in the governmental system. Trends are observable toward more governmental responsibility for social welfare and toward centralized control of social agencies though federation will be the rule for some time yet. Professor Steiner seems a bit less optimistic but no less scientific than he was in his earlier text. The book is dynamic in a three-fold sense, in its opposition to *laissez-faire*, in its consideration of the evolving community, and in its recognition of new viewpoints and material. Sound thinking, clear statement, and factual data make this revision indispensable in the field of community study.

PSYCHOLOGY, HISTORICAL AND APPLIED

L. L. AND J. S. BERNARD

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- A HISTORY OF PSYCHOLOGY IN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, VOL. I. Edited by Carl Murchison. Worcester: Clark University Press, 1930. xvi + 516 pp. \$5.00.
- PSYCHOLOGIES OF 1930. Edited by Carl Murchison. Worcester: Clark University Press, 1930. xix + 497 pp. \$6.00.
- PHILOSOPHISCHE UND NATURWISSENSCHAFTLICHE GRUNDLAGEN DER PSYCHOLOGIE. By Ernst Adolf Bernhard. Berlin: Carl Heymanns Verlag, 1930. 123 pp.
- THE AUTONOMIC NERVOUS SYSTEM. By Albert Kuntz. Philadelphia: Lea and Febiger, 1929. xii + 576 pp. \$7.00.
- THE MEASUREMENT OF MAN. By J. Arthur Harris, C. M. Jackson, D. C. Paterson, and R. E. Scammon. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1930. vii + 215 pp. \$2.50.
- LA CRISIS DE LA PUBERTAD Y SUS CONSECUENCIAS PEDAGOGICAS. By Victor Mercante. Buenos Aires: Cabaut y Cia. xi + 437 pp.
- CULTIVATING PERSONALITY. By William S. Walsh. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1930. xii + 288 pp. \$2.50.
- THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE PERSONALITY. By J. H. Dennison. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930. xxii + 340 pp. \$3.00.
- DER FLIRT. By Wolfgang Wieland. Leipzig: Felix Meiners Verlag, 1927. 179 pp.
- ESPERANDO A MORTE. By C. Doliveira. Rio de Janeiro: Heitor Ribeiro & Cia., 1929. 187 pp.
- AMOR, CONVENIENCIA Y EUGENESIA; EL DEBER DE LAS EDADES; JUVENTUD, MODERNIDAD, ETERNIDAD. By Gregorio Marañon. Madrid: S. A. Editorial Historia Nueva, 1930. 234 pp. 5 pesetas.
- JUVENTUD Y VEJEZ. By Juan Marinello. La Habana: Imp. "El Universo," 1928. 20 pp.
- THE DANGERS OF OBEDIENCE. By Harold J. Laski. New York: Harper and Bros., 1930. vii + 293 pp. \$3.00.
- HUMAN NATURE AND HUMAN SURVIVAL. By Thiselton Mark. London: Kingsgate Press, 1929. ix + 86 pp. 2 s/6 d.
- SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY: AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOR. By Kimball Young. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1930. xvii + 674 + xxi pp. \$4.00.
- SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By E. T. Krueger and Walter C. Reckless. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1931. ix + 578 pp.
- PSYCHOLOGY FOR RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL WORKERS. By Paul V. West and Charles E. Skinner. New York: Century Co., 1930. xiii + 528 pp. \$3.00.
- PERSON UND MASSE. By Georg Stieler. Leipzig: Felix Meiner Verlag, 1929. vi + 239 pp.
- KING MOB. By Frank K. Notch. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1930. 226 pp. \$2.00.
- THE AMERICAN PUBLIC MIND. By Peter Odegard.

- New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. ix + 308 pp. \$2.50.
- MRS. GRUNDY. By Leo Markun. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1930. xiii + 666 pp. \$5.00.
- THE POWER AND SECRET OF THE JESUITS. By Rene Fülöp-Miller. New York: The Viking Press, 1930. xviii + 523 pp. \$5.00.
- ABNORMAL PSYCHOLOGY. By H. L. Hollingworth. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1930. xi + 590 pp. \$4.50.

I

Of great interest to social workers and to all other members of the social science guild are the two books edited by Carl Murchison. Social workers especially should appreciate the life history form in which Baldwin, Calkins, Claparede, Dodge, Janet, Jastrow, Kiesow, McDougall, Seashore, Spearman, Stern, Stumpf, Warren, Ziehen and Zwaardemaker set forth the origin and development of their theories and tell how they accomplished their work. More and more we are learning that we do not understand a theory until we know the man who produced it and the psycho-social environment out of which it came. The *Autobiographical History* has done this work well. May the second volume see the light soon.

Equally interesting, and frequently almost as personal, is the *Psychologies of 1930*, which continues the *Psychologies of 1925*. The five year interval has produced some outstanding developments, quite as much of viewpoint as of technique. Twelve "schools" have been selected for treatment, including the hormic psychology of McDougall, which seems destined to absorb and ease off his instinct psychology; associationalism and "act" psychology, treated historically by Breet; functionalism, by Carr; structuralist theories, by Washburn, Bentley, Boring and Nafe; configurationism (Gestalt) by Köhler, Koffka, and Sander; Russian psychology, by Pavlov, Schniermann, and Kornilov; behaviorism,

by Hunter and Weiss; reactionism, by Dunlap; dynamic psychology, by Woodworth; eclecticism, by Spearman; psycho-analysis, by Janet, Flügel, and Adler; and a general survey by Dewey, Kelley, Spearman, and Troland. The viewpoints are set forth vigorously, and there are photographs of the authors.

Bernhard's *Foundations* is a convenient survey of psychology from Herbart to the present, emphasizing the growth of the subject in both its natural science and philosophic aspects. A general introduction of 45 pages and two chapters on the development of physiological psychology are especially valuable for students of modern psychology. The other chapters (4-7) are somewhat mixed with metaphysical implications.

II

Psychiatrists who wish something more fundamental and concrete than the day dreams of the psychoanalysts will find it in Kuntz' *The Autonomic Nervous System*. Any social worker who has mastered the morphology of this system and the careful analyses of the innervation processes controlling the heart, blood vessels, respiratory system, digestive tube, glands, urinary and sex organs, sense organs, and skeletal system, and has familiarized herself with the abnormal functioning of various systems and processes as described in this very learned and thorough volume will be equipped to classify "Freudianism" among off-time recreations.

Four University of Minnesota professors have undertaken to present the human personality quantitatively. Harris has measured it in general, Jackson in its normal and abnormal types contrasted, Paterson in the relations of personality and physique, while Scammon has measured the body in childhood. The aggregate result of these studies is a set of data about

the human organism and the relation of its structure to functions which no worker in applied sociology can afford not to be conversant with.

Mercante's *Crisis of Puberty* is a most detailed and careful analysis of the physiology and the psychology of childhood during the period when approaching maturity is forcing it to face its most difficult readjustment problems. The author is familiar with the best work in this field in America and in Europe and has brought to bear upon the problem a most penetrating analysis of the relations of the changing physique to the growing mentality, especially on the side of the emotions. Especial attention has been given to the implications of the adolescent's physical and mental development for the pedagogical problems of habit formation, learning, and conduct. Abundance of tables and other quantitative material support the psycho-physical analyses of the work.

III

The problem of personality building is an interesting one—and important. Walsh's *Cultivating Personality* is not for the student, but may be of use to the layman who needs stimulation interspersed with some fairly good practical suggestions about personality integration. The author is a popularizer with much practical experience and observation behind him, and he is therefore equipped to be helpful. On the theory side he attempts to be impartial to the various schools, but is himself an old fashioned instinctivist. One of the interesting things, however, about being an emotionally convinced instinctivist is that you can believe thoroughly in the instincts without making the slightest use of them, except verbally, in your practice. A much more original, and also a more helpful, book on personality reconstruction is Dennison's *Enlargement of the*

Personality. This author also attempts to dodge the controversial corners of current psychological theory, although he misunderstands somewhat the supposed conflict between the gestalt enthusiasts and the behaviorists. The author believes that personality is not alone the result of previous behavior and conditionings, but that one may get rather suddenly a new picture of himself, or of what he wishes to be or thinks he is, and by means of this new personality pattern rapidly recondition the whole of his behavior to the point of becoming like the picture. This is not as new a theory as the author appears to think, but in reality a very old one. The author's contribution to the technique of the theory is, however, a good one. He reviews the perspective of history, literature, biography, social movements, and religion and culls from these much interesting and stimulating data that will be welcomed by the student of personality.

IV

The Flirt is one of the first of a long line of books in the field of sex psychology doubtless soon to appear. To the somewhat old fashioned author petting is the root of most social ills and the triumph of impotency. This work is practically a treatise on petting, but its intention is to discourage rather than stimulate it. Petting has arisen to scourge society because of modern artificiality and our departure from the old domestic and national ideals into which an artificial age has led us. Fashion, athletics and other vices are in the same cultural complex as petting. The author sees little future for a petting society; a breeding one would be better. Under the somewhat gruesome title of *Awaiting Death*, C. Doliveira has discharged a most fascinating broadside against our latter day mores. Unlike Dr. Wieland, he protests not so much in behalf of our

traditions as in favor of a more rational and socialized order, which however he does not appear to expect. Fashion and frivolity come in for their share of castigation, but his chief quarrel is with human insincerity, an unjust social order, and a predatory state which rob men of their natural birthright while most of them stand by stupidly and the remainder helplessly. There are no dull pages in this book.

The distinguished Spanish endocrinologist, Marañón, who is also a strong republican, feeling the need of building men of superior character in an age of dictatorships, has published three groups of essays intended to make some contribution to the training of stronger personalities. In the first group he discusses the relative claims of marriage for love and for advantage, concluding that the best criterion for sexual union is the production of a higher type of people. In coming to this conclusion, however, he does not disregard psychological factors. In the second group of essays he seeks to delimit the spheres of action of youth and age and middle life in the various spheres and aspects of existence. In the third group the modern trends of youth and its conflict with age, the conflicts of the new times with tradition, and the relatively permanent values of life are discussed. While these essays are written with a light touch they are replete with wisdom and understanding of our times and their needs. Marinello's *Youth and Age* appears to echo for Cuba this same conflict between the old and the young, the past and the present.

Very similar themes also run through Laski's *The Dangers of Obedience*, although here there is perhaps a bolder gesture in favor of the modern world. Laski is also much less interested in individuals—except where they get in the way of a better

social order—and more in a social system that offers equality of opportunity for the good things of life, including service. This problem of how the person can find a functional adjustment of the social system and how that system can be socialized in spite of business and universities and foundations puzzles Laski. He looks back somewhat longingly, in hope of a better understanding, to the days of Machiavelli and of Rousseau. It is a challenging rather than a profound book, and it is interesting.

Thiselton Mark leaves these mundane worries to take care of themselves in his *Human Nature and Human Survival*. He seeks to bring the supernatural closer to nature without destroying its intriguing mystery. On this base he builds his argument for immortality. Each one must judge according to his own needs how well the author succeeds in his two endeavors.

V

Perhaps we should now turn to a more systematic and formal, and also to a more complete, treatment of these various problems of personality integration and psychosocial adjustment. Fortunately we have at hand three excellent treatises on this science of social psychology, which attempts to study social behavior. Two of these are general treatises, while the third is somewhat more specialized in the direction of application. Young, in his *Social Psychology*, has followed largely in the relatively synthetic trend of the subject initiated by the reviewer in 1926. This mode of treatment has the advantage of preserving the best in the old collectivistic psychology without neglecting the adjustment of the individual to his social environment as the primary setting of personality integration. He also adopts the plan of approaching a discussion of collective behavior and of group organi-

zation through an analysis of individual behavior in a social situation. Unquestionably this is the best approach to an understanding of social behavior, since after all behavior even when collective is the behavior of individuals. Personality grows out of this adjustment process. I consider Young's development of his subject both logical and psychological, as well as good pedagogy. The treatment of specific psycho-social processes is equally happy. He makes apt use of the conditioning process in habit building, puts the instincts in a secondary category, brings out the importance of language in personality integration, and then emphasizes the interplay of personality and communication in collective response.

Krueger and Reckless cover less ground than Young, because they are but little concerned with collective behavior as such and much interested in the individual response in a social situation. Thus their book lies somewhere between the synthetic approach and that of Allport, but with emphasis upon the case method rather than upon experimentation. It falls decidedly within the traditions of the later Chicago school, but perhaps without some of the earlier extravagances of that school. In some degree Krueger and Reckless reverse the approach through personality integration in the individual to collective behavior used by Young and myself, for they present whatever account of the conditioning social environment they have at the beginning rather than at the end of their book. To be sure Young foreshadowed this practice with an introductory chapter on the social setting of human behavior. Krueger and Reckless also emphasize the importance of language as a phase of the social medium and discount the cult of instincts. Queerly enough they retain the wishes, but, it must be said, in a somewhat denaturalized and

socialized form. Their largest emphasis is upon the attitudes and their functioning in the social adjustment situation. They also play up the problems of conflict and personality adjustment. One of the many good things about this excellent book is its carefully selected and adapted bibliography and guides to supplementary study.

West and Skinner have produced a much less profound work in their *Psychology for Religious and Social Workers* and they have fallen into some rather regrettable traditional errors, such as the retention of McDougall's instinct categories. But they have made an effort to predigest their product for social workers and for teachers. Perhaps the result is even better fitted for general readers. If the book did not have to stand beside two more scholarly and carefully worked treatises it certainly would receive strong praise for its many virtues in spite of its defects. It has also the advantage of readability.

VI

There is something very reminiscent of the American synthetic social psychologies in Stieler's *Individual and Crowd*. He acknowledges the importance of crowds in modern life and bears witness to the relative insignificance of personal leadership. But he also shows that crowds cannot any more be explained in terms of the Hegelian *Zeitgeist*. They begin in the self-consciousness of individuals. The author shows how this self-consciousness grows into social consciousness and the perception of collective phenomena, and how this in turn gives rise to groups. He classifies groups, discusses their behavior and their organs. American readers will find in this book a welcome addition to the literature of crowd psychology.

Not at all systematic, but a valuable exposé of the current tendency to herd the masses in the interest of every "graft"

and "ism" that the clever advertiser, "public relations adviser," demagog and charlatan can concoct is *King Mob*. The author's pseudonym does not reveal his identity, but the content reads somewhat like E. D. Martin's *Behavior of Crowds* popularized and applied to the great American skin game of putting things over. The book has the educational value of being popularly written. Only through such channels can popular propaganda methods be exposed and counteracted. Even college classes could profit from reading such a book.

Odegard's *The American Public Mind* has much the same general theme, but the treatment is highly factual—even statistical—rather than generally analytical. Some preliminary chapters intended to correct some fundamental errors of interpretation of human behavior and to show the changes taking place in modern family and religious life are followed by analyses of the great control agencies and institutions of the country. The school, the press, political parties, movies, radio, books and other "carriers" are discussed as agencies of propaganda and an abundance of authentic facts is presented to show just how these agencies are being used to control the thinking and action of the public. A final chapter on Censorship and Democracy somewhat discourages the seeker for a remedy through censorship.

VII

One of the most fascinating books in these days of psychological history is *Mrs. Grundy*, by Leo Markun. It should have had a more serious title, for it is a serious book—the history of British and American morals for four centuries. But it is not dry, nor is it revoltingly propagandistic, except that from one angle it might be viewed as a very ornate and subtle pamphlet in opposition to the eighteenth amendment. Whether intended for this purpose

or not—and this is the only thing that mars its artistic excellence—it presents a delightful movie of the struggle for pleasure and for place on the one hand, and for propriety on the other, through the hectic days of Henry VIII, the age of the virgin Elizabeth, the sottishness of the Georges, and the primness of Victoria, to say nothing of changing scenes in our own land of native puritanism now much ruffled by the glory of hyphenated New Yorkese. The book is full of engravings by Hogarth and other caricaturists.

Another psychological history of very considerable merit of an institution is Fülöp-Miller's *Power and Secret of the Jesuits*. The intention is apparently to treat the behavior of this remarkable order with entire impartiality. Perhaps this aim has resulted in some degree of over-compensation. The author has found the facts for the study in unorthodox as well as in the conventional sources and is therefore able to present a vast array of data regarding the exalted emotional circumstances of the founding of the order and the tenacity of purpose and consecrated service of the members. The dark spots, such as the struggle of the order against modern science and the democratic trend, are not neglected. The decline of the Jesuit domination since Clement XIV, as a result of the order's failure to keep pace with the growth of human knowledge, is developed fully, but conservatively. The conclusion is that, on the whole, the Jesuits have done much more good than evil in the world.

VIII

Hollingworth's *Abnormal Psychology* is the most theoretical work in this field so far published. Besides several initial chapters on the history of the theory of mental abnormality and the several schools of theory in the field there are various

systematic discussions of the psychological bases of the neuroses, with other chapters on stuttering and stammering, aphasia and asymbolia, epilepsy, and drug neuroses. The author has not resorted to the easy

phantasies of psychoanalysis for his explanatory theory. His book will, however, probably appeal to the systematic psychologist more than to the applied sociologist.

THE CHILD

GLADYS HOAGLAND GROVES

Chapel Hill, North Carolina

THE HOME CARE OF THE INFANT AND CHILD. By Frederick F. Tisdall. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1931. 292 pp. \$3.00.

THE MANAGEMENT OF YOUNG CHILDREN. By William E. Blatz and Helen Bott. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1930. 354 pp. \$3.00.

THE CREATIVE HOME. By Ivah Everett Deering. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1930. 180 pp. \$1.50.

Besides giving the information usually found in handbooks on the physical care of the young, this volume makes explicit answers to many of the practical and theoretical questions that come up in homes where modern techniques are followed, and adds some of the most recent findings of specialists and research workers. Parents who live in latitudes of summer heat so intense as to make sunbaths risky during the hot part of the day will be interested to hear "sky shine baths" taken under the open sky, but in the shade of the house, spoken of as approximately one-half as valuable as exposure to the direct rays of the sun. The high ultra-violet content contributed to the sun's rays in late winter and early spring is also a matter of especial concern to these parents.

Inexpensive sources of Vitamin B², the pellagra-preventing vitamin, are listed, chief among them being yeast. A theoretical explanation is given of the high concentration of Vitamin A, "the sunlight vitamin," in the liver of the deep sea cod. The new tannic acid treatment of burns is described; the advantage that often

comes from temporarily dropping fluid milk from the diet of the undernourished child is made plain; recipes for preparing children's food are not guilty of vagueness at essential points; tables, charts and illustrations are plentiful, and there is an adequate index.

William E. Blatz contributes an excellent chapter on the behavior problems of children, and another on their toys and play life, which lead the parent from reliance on science in the physical care of his child to a scientific interest in the newer field of objective study of child behavior. For further discussion of the problem of bringing up children, the reader is referred to Blatz and Bott's companion volumes, *The Pre-School Child*, and *The Management of Young Children*. Both these textbooks are planned for use by groups of mothers, with or without a trained leader, and follow the same general arrangement of appending to each chapter an outline, with references for further reading, illustrations from group discussions, and occasionally a case history. As the earlier text dealt with the establishment of desirable habits in the control of the appetites and emotions, the new one, *The Management of Young Children*, confines itself for the most part to principles of social adjustment in the pre-school period.

In Part I, Nature of Control, the chapter on Authority in the Modern Home reminds parents of the need of cultivating resistance

to group pressure if they expect their children to develop an attitude of discriminating criticism of social customs. Authority by constraint, whether through physical force or through the more subtle but perhaps more damaging meting out of love as reward and punishment for desired behavior, is contrasted with the authority of education, which trains and equips the child for the use of freedom. Chapter II, on Discipline and Freedom, describes the progressive stages of a child's freedom, and applies the term, discipline, to parental self-improvement as well as to the positive fostering of desirable activity in the child.

Part II, The Physical Environment, has chapters on Opportunities for Activity, Constructive and Destructive Tendencies, and Danger Situations: places and materials, sense experiences, and the value of necessary work such as putting away toys, are discussed, as well as protection from over-stimulation. The rôle of destruction in the child's life is explained by its being so much easier than construction, increasing his sense of power, and affording relief from tension. Construction appears as a natural outgrowth of destruction and other aimless activities, by way of manipulation, and culminating in the child's attaching social uses to what he makes. Impulses leading a child to seek dangerous situations are cited and ways of teaching him to enjoy adventure and satisfy his curiosity and need of experimentation without undue risk are suggested; the rôle of protection from obvious danger is considered, and a reasonable procedure outlined for teaching a child how to meet definite, unavoidable danger situations.

Part III, The Social Environment, treats Unwitting and Witting Adult Influences, and Relations Among Children. The effect of home atmosphere on the child is pictured in his reactions to its conventions, moral standards, and the prestige of the

adult members of the family; some of the causes, forms, and results of conflict and serenity are traced. Common policies of parents are criticized, and constructive programs elaborated. Social interaction in the child's age-group, and among children in the family, are discussed, and his need of being alone is stressed.

Part IV, Types of Motivation, scans Levels of Action, Rewards and Punishments, and Success and Failure.

Joseph Lee writes in the Introduction of *The Creative Home*, "This is a book for parents, full of most wise and practical suggestions, based on the author's own experience, upon how to foster the native power of their children through creative play." Parents who need such a book most are apt to be frightened by the word, creative, but Mrs. Deering strips the term of its power to inspire awe when she discusses creative kitchenry, simple carpentry, and weekly family evenings at home with as much zest as music, fingertip expression, poetry and the Front Lawn Theater, recounts the history of most parental self-consciousness before a bit of clay or a paintbrush or an unusual thought or feeling, and then admits, "The sweetest music I know is the little child's frank but kindly 'Pretty poor, Mother, but it's better than last time; and isn't it fun to learn, even if you are grown up?'"

Simple but adequate tools are described, to be put within the child's reach on his own shelf, against the moment when he may feel impelled to create, to free himself from a feeling of repression. Forbearance and open-minded appreciation, untainted by effusiveness, are demanded of the parent, rather than technical skill or exceptional power of leadership.

Anyone who means to bring up a child unafraid of his own thoughts and cravings may well spend an hour with this short-paged book, checking over his own prac-

tices by its illuminating suggestions, to see how many new possibilities occur to him.

THE LONG VIEW; Papers and addresses of Mary E. Richmond. Edited by Joanna C. Colcord and Ruth Z. S. Mann. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930. 648 pp. \$3.00.

The *Long View* is a particularly well named book. This collection of papers and addresses by Mary E. Richmond gives a long and exceedingly interesting view of certain trends of social work thought from 1889 to 1928.

In reviewing the biography of Florence Nightingale, Miss Richmond wrote, "A profession which did not know its own history, which was indifferent to the memory of the men and women responsible for its making, would still be a shambling and formless thing." No social worker can afford to be indifferent to these papers, written through a period of forty years while the profession was emerging, by one of the outstanding leaders responsible for the making of the profession. It is a record of the maturing of a great personality and a great movement.

The editors, Joanna C. Colcord and Ruth Z. S. Mann, have done a fine piece of work. The material is divided into five periods, the pre-professional years, and four clearly marked periods of Miss Richmond's social work. Each period is preceded by a short introduction of significant biographical information. Very short notes before each paper show the occasion of its writing and often call attention to further developments or changes of thought in later papers.

Miss Richmond in the later period was much interested in social work terminology. It is interesting to see how the social work vocabulary changed through the years with changing thought. In the nineties her ardent young spirit was de-

voted to the cause of *the poor*, to the guiding of the *charitable spirit* into genuinely constructive human helpfulness through the tireless labors of *friendly visitors*. By the fourth period we hear no more of the charitable or the poor. When she is writing in 1915 "friendly visiting" has long since merged in "social case work," and social case work has grown to be "the art of doing different things for and with different people by cooperating with them to achieve their own and society's betterment. Such work is not confined to any particular group of agencies, of course, nor is it necessarily confined to agencies known as social in the more technical sense. It is recognized wherever we may find it by its method of differential treatment and its aim of social betterment". . . . There is "pressing in upon us social workers the newest need of democracy—the need of recognizing human differences and adjusting our systems of education, of cure, of law, of reformation and of industry to those differences."

Almost from the very beginning Miss Richmond was interested in the training of social workers. In 1897 she writes of the training given the new workers in the Baltimore C.O.S. "But we feel that the training is not broad enough. It specializes too soon." "If my life is a long one," she writes, "I hope to see a school of philanthropy before I die." Soon after that she was lecturing in the actually established New York School of Philanthropy. Her interest in students of social work appears again and again in her papers and reveals the teacher.

There are various themes that begin early and run all the way through the book with interesting philosophical developments. The inter-relatedness of all forms of social effort is a theme of growing clarity and richness, vivid in the young worker in Baltimore, ripened in the mature

woman in New York. We find it in discussions of the relation of social case work and social reform—how each is dependent upon and must precede and follow the other. We find it repeated in her last paper when she urges social workers to "study and develop your work at its point of intersection with the other services and activities of your community. . . . Society is one fabric and when you know the resources of your community both public and private, and main trends of its life rather than any particular small section of it, you are able to knit into the pattern of that fabric the threads of your own specialty."

Another constant theme is the emphasis upon *next steps*, the task of "working out your principles, rather than flourishing them," as she quoted Bernard Bosanquet in saying. Almost the first of her social work papers is a challenge to such practical effort, and the last paragraph of the last paper is a warning to be content with "short next steps, carefully taken and well secured."

But always the next steps were to be taken with that "long view" ahead. It is a remarkable combination revealed in these papers of the far-seeing imagination and the patient practical next steps.

Both in the social work papers and in the non-professional papers we see the author's breadth and catholicity of interests, of reading and of human sympathy. And the ready play of humor brightens the serious pages, as when she comments that "a knowledge of facts is often fatal to fine writing."

GERTRUDE VAILE.

University of Minnesota.

THE SECOND TWENTY YEARS AT HULL-HOUSE. By Jane Addams. New York: Macmillan, 1930. 413 pp. \$4.00.

It was indeed eminently fitting that on December 23, 1930, the University of

Chicago conferred upon Jane Addams the degree of doctor of laws in recognition of her world-wide achievements in social welfare as well as for her services as founder and head worker of Hull House since 1889. It is these world-wide achievements in social welfare that are emphasized in *The Second Twenty Years at Hull House*, but with Hull-House always the center or nucleus of the world movements discussed. One misses perhaps the intimate touches which are so appealing in *Twenty Years at Hull-House*—the inspiration for its founding, the struggles and hardships during its first days, the vivid pictures of those who flocked to its doors, its steady growth and development until it became, in spite of obstacles, a dominant neighborhood force. However, since from the beginning Hull-House ministered to peoples of varying nationalities, it was but natural and inevitable that with a leader such as Miss Addams its neighborhood should be extended gradually from a few city blocks until it encompassed the Old World as well as the New.

But although we may miss the pleasant intimacies of the earlier volume, the author's breadth of vision and grasp of the intricacies of national and international problems and situations, manifested by her active and intelligent participation in the twenty-year development of significant social trends in world affairs, make this second volume perhaps the more significant of the two. Both books are in the main autobiographical and furnish an excellent illustration of the importance of the personality of the leader. Without Miss Addams, Hull-House might today be just another social settlement scarcely known outside of Chicago, instead of a dominant factor in world affairs. And yet to its constituents it has lost none of the charm or reality of its early days as revealed in the delightful chapter on "The Devil Baby at Hull-House."

The Second Twenty Years at Hull-House is throughout a study of social trends from 1909 to 1929 and includes discussions of social service and the progressive party from 1909 to 1912, aspects of the woman's movement, peace efforts during the war, post-war inhibitions, contrasts in a post-war generation, a decade of prohibition, immigrants under the quota, efforts to humanize justice, play instincts and the arts, education by current events. If such an enlarged and extended program of social settlement activities needs any explanation or justification, it is best given in Miss Addams' own words, when in her concluding paragraph she says, "It seems as if we were about to extend indefinitely what we call our public, and that unless it were stretched to world dimensions, the most significant messages of our times might easily escape us."

KATHARINE JOCHER.

The University of North Carolina.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF ECONOMICS TO SOCIAL WORK.
By Amy Hewes. Columbia University Press.
1930. \$2.00.

"Social workers need to know something of sociology, psychology, economics, history, political science; and something of medicine, industry, law, education, politics and religious thought," states the introduction to this first series of lectures delivered at the New York School for Social Work under the newly established Forbes Lectureship. The orientation of the social worker in the field of economics should be greatly advanced by means of this small volume. Professor Hewes' own confidence in the unquenchable vitality behind the changing forms of industrial organization—*The Toughness of the Fibre of Economic Life*—as she expresses it, forms a sturdy background for the presentation of hitherto little explored relationships between social work and economics.

The growth of social work and its rôle in the community are explained in terms of economic history. The part played by statistics in measuring social needs is clarified—"One of the commonest faults is to be wandering about without a clear-cut question," says Professor Hewes; and, again, "I have seen tables in print from which it was impossible to tell what was being counted and classified." All that economics can tell of the economic resources of society, of budgeting, saving and investments, of national and municipal spending, taxation, and profits, is needed to answer the question, "What Can a Community Afford?" An understanding of contractual relationships, the peculiarities of the wage bargain and business combinations, the concentration of capital and the business cycle, as well as the workers' attempts to exercise their combined power through trade unions, and the rôle of the State, is necessary for intelligent dealing with the problems of family income and the elusive "road to plenty."

One chapter is given to the joyous exploding of various "economic myths" such as the myth that wealth is gold, the myths of the economic man, laissez faire and the labor theory of value, of the wages fund, and the necessity for a labor reserve and the famous myth of the Iron Law of Wages. The final chapter discusses the new methods needed in the study of institutional economics.

MIRIAM KEELER.

The American Child.

LABOR IN THE INDUSTRIAL SOUTH: A survey of Wages and Living Conditions in Three Major Industries of the New Industrial South. By Abraham Berglund, George T. Starnes and Frank T. de Vyver. University, Virginia. Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, 1930. 176 pp.

This study presents the results of investigations of wages and living conditions in three major industries, namely, furniture, lumber, and cotton textiles. The impor-

tant tobacco industry is omitted. One can only surmise that the arrogant attitude of some of the larger companies which refuse to acknowledge any public interest in their business is the reason for the omission. Besides the chapters devoted specifically to the industries there is one on the changing South, another on the social and economic background of the workers, and a third on the cost of living in the South. The many statistical tables are drawn partly from direct investigation and partly from published sources.

The chapters vary in value. That on the industrialization of the South contains some questionable statements. Both the amount and the importance of *ante-bellum* manufacturing are slurred. We find this sweeping but erroneous statement, "The factories that were organized [before 1860] were failures," (p. 2). Even the pre-war development of New England manufactures is understated. The skill of the *ante-bellum* southern craftsman is exaggerated, and the statement that the "recently developed manufacturing enterprises are characterized by a highly diversified output" is likewise an exaggeration.

The discussion of the background of the Southern worker is better, though not altogether consistent or strictly accurate, as some of the stock traditions are included and not always specifically refuted. The "Poor White" is given unwarranted importance, though on the same page a footnote partially corrects the generalization that "there was little resembling what would be called a middle class." The authors have not learned how difficult it is to generalize concerning the South.

Both the statistics and the discussion of the furniture industry are easily the most important of the three industries treated. Little work has heretofore been done upon this subject; the material is fresh, and the conclusions apparently sound. The in-

vestigation was confined to the three leading states, North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee. When the tables were prepared there were no comparable figures from other sections. The tables and graphs on the lumber industry are drawn or arranged from various government publications. The pertinent comment and description are the result of visits to more than sixty mills, some urban, others isolated.

Though more than half of the book is devoted to textiles this is the least satisfactory portion of the book. The tables of wages, drawn from various bulletins of the Department of Labor prove what everyone knows—that money wages, and, probably real wages also, are lower in the South than in New England. In discussing the level of wages, the authors mention the fact so often emphasized by the reviewer, that southern wages are conditioned by the returns from agriculture, but hardly stress it sufficiently. This is fundamental. In an agricultural community with considerable surplus labor, an occupation easily learned (comparatively) will not be and can not be rewarded at a rate much higher than farm labor. Higher returns from agriculture would automatically raise wages in industry.

The discussion of conditions of living, while accurate and informing, suffers by comparison with Miss Herring's important *Welfare Work in Mill Villages*, or with Rhyne's *Some Southern Cotton Mill Workers and Their Villages*. In discussing the supplement to the wages in the form of subsidized housing and welfare activities one fact often overlooked is emphasized, *i.e.* that many of these activities are a part of the state or municipal programme in states with a large urban population. Therefore the southern mill may save in taxes some of the expenditure for various welfare activities.

While studying wages and living conditions the investigators secured prices of many staple commodities in forty-six localities in the South. These are compared with published prices in other sections. The tentative conclusion is that the difference in cost of living is not so great as is generally supposed. The compilers quite justifiably seem rather uncertain of the validity of their conclusions. An analysis of the food habits of the southern worker would have modified the findings to some extent.

There are a few errors of computation in the many tables, and otherwise the proof-reading is not above reproach. In one or two chapters are colloquialisms and localisms which may not be understood by one not native to the region, but these are unimportant. The book is a valuable piece of preliminary work, though by no means definitive.

HOLLAND THOMPSON.

College of the City of New York.

RESEARCH IN PUBLIC FINANCE IN RELATION TO AGRICULTURE. Ed. by John D. Black. New York. Social Science Research Council, 1930. Bulletin No. 1, 174 pp. 75 cents.

The Social Science Research Council, some time ago, made a survey of the character of contemporary research work in the United States in the fields of agricultural economics and rural sociology. Three major conclusions were reached, namely, (1) that the research personnel was in many instances not adequately trained, (2) that better methodology needed to be developed and more generally employed, and (3) that the field of research in the two subjects in question needed careful mapping.

With a view to remedying these deficiencies the Council has launched what it calls a program of assistance to research in agricultural economics and rural sociol-

ogy. This program which is being directed by an Advisory Committee on Social and Economic Research in Agriculture headed by Professor John D. Black of Harvard University has three main objectives corresponding to the three major needs revealed by the survey. The first stage in the program for improving the training of research personnel has been to secure provision of a score or more of fellowships each year for a period of five years under grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. The first stage in the program with respect to research methods and mapping the fields of research has been to prepare and publish in three volumes a discussion of those phases of methodology which are common to most of the research in the two fields. Two of these volumes are called "Research Method and Procedure in Agricultural Economics" and the third is called "Rural Sociological Research in the United States."

The present report on Research in Public Finance in Relation to Agriculture represents a further step in the development of the Council's program. It is the first of a series of bulletins on scope and method in which the various sub-fields of agricultural economics and rural sociology are made the units of study. It is announced that three other bulletins in this series are now in process of preparation, carrying the respective titles of Agricultural Land Utilization, Farm Management, and Index Numbers for Agriculture. Other numbers contemplated, if funds available permit, will deal with such fields as Rural Population, Farm Family Living, Rural Social Welfare, Agricultural Income, Prices of Farm Products, marketing of Farm Products, Transportation in Relation to Agriculture, Rural Organization, Rural Social Psychology, Rural Institutions, Agricultural Cooperation, Agricultural Insurance, and Agrarian Policy.

Bulletin No. 1 maps out and orients the field of research in rural public finance. It lists and discusses some forty-three specific research projects all of which are pertinent to the solution of some urgent practical problem. The projects cover every phase of public finance in relation to agriculture from the administration of particular taxes to the measurement and explanation of the attitudes of the farm public toward various forms of public activity. Each project is discussed by a competent investigator in the sub-field involved. The discussions cover not only the methodology and technique appropriate to the specific project under consideration, but also sources of information and references to research projects already completed along the same lines.

If Bulletin No. 1 is a fair sample of the reports which are to follow, it is safe to predict that they will adequately meet the purposes which they are intended to serve. These purposes are announced by the Committee as follows:

First, directors of experiment stations and chiefs of divisions of agricultural economics and of rural sociology in land-grant institutions in the United States, and persons similarly responsible for direction of the research in agricultural economics and rural sociology of other types of institutions, will find the outlines of the various subfields of much help in laying out continuing programs of research for their institutions. Second, individual research workers, graduate students looking for thesis subjects, and teachers conducting research seminars, as well as the agencies above named, will find the listing and discussions of projects helpful in choosing suitable research projects. Third, the descriptions of research already done will save research workers from duplicating other work and help them to find a way of building upon it successfully. Fourth, the discussion of the nature of a project and the qualitative background will reveal the body of the subject-matter which needs to be mastered for its intelligent prosecution, and the difficulties involved, and thus save many research workers from launching forth upon projects for which they have not yet qualified themselves, or which may be too difficult for all but the

chosen few. Fifth, the analysis of methodology will furnish a basis for a more intelligent decision as to the procedures and methods which will lead to valid and usable results. Sixth, the discussion of methodology will also suggest helpful devices in technique and details of procedure that might not otherwise be brought to the attention of the research workers. Seventh, the discussions of both scope and methods will make clear to those organizing research in any field the contributions which workers on different subjects have to offer to it, and point the way to the form of collaboration needed.

CLARENCE HEER.

University of North Carolina.

SOCIAL CONTROL OF THE MENTALLY DEFICIENT. By Stanley P. Davies. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1930. 389 pp. \$3.00.

A very excellent presentation of the developmental history of the attitude toward, and the treatment of, the mentally deficient. The most enlightened and hopeful present day trends towards individualization of methods are clearly and forcibly covered. A valuable service has been done by this understanding and convincing survey. At the same time, it is only fair to point out certain features that detract from the value of the work.

Dr. Davies' position that "certain mental defectives are apparently defective in moral sense and unteachable in this regard" while others are 'inherently good,' by nature affectionate, trusting, confiding, loyal, industrious," is far from being in accord with the findings of modern psychological experimentation. It is disappointing to find a work so modern in relation to the methods of treatment at the same time so antiquated in respect to fundamental psychological concepts.

Again, Dr. Davies is sometimes hardly consistent with himself. At times he is apparently of the opinion that character traits that contribute to the lack of adjustment of some mentally deficient individuals are hereditary while in other parts

of his work he insists that these same traits "are for the most part a product of environment." That there is lacking any clear cut treatment of the parts contributed by each of these important interlocking factors in determining behavior is to be regretted.

Although indicating fallacies in deductions that have been drawn from the results of group mental examinations of the army draft during the World War, the author is clearly influenced by these rather questionable data and by the opinions of others based upon these same data. There follows a too uncritical acceptance of a growing tendency toward a social-economic rather than a strictly scientific conception of feeble-mindedness.

HARRY W. CRANE.

University of North Carolina.

THE OLD LOVE AND THE NEW; DIVORCE AND READJUSTMENT. By Willard Walter Waller. New York, Horace Liveright. 1930. xix + 344 pp. \$3.00.

To our knowledge, this is the first organized study of the effect of divorce on the divorcé himself. Professor Waller's major contention is that the rôle of the crisis, especially the crisis of divorce, has been misinterpreted. After climax comes anti-climax; after crisis, the demands of a changed situation, the possible necessity of assimilating trauma. Divorce is not only climax and solution; it is trauma and precipitator of many new problems. The book is a delineation of the adjustments and maladjustments of divorced people in the face of these new problems, problems of assimilating the blow to pride, of freeing themselves from the old love or hate of the former mate or living with the fact of deprivation, of reorganizing their sex life, of facing (especially in the woman) new economic demands, of salvaging status and dealing with the complicated social relationships and alteration of rôles which

the change has precipitated. These are treated with insight and understanding. Curiously, complication of social relationships is the least effectively dealt with.

The author is under heavy debt to the psychoanalysts, for the general mechanisms—conflict, repression, displacement, projection, etc.—rather than for underlying tenets. Jung is mentioned for his introvert-extrovert and container-contained contributions; Freud's school, as such, is only mildly reflected in the work; but Adler, who is scarcely mentioned by name, has furnished a basic orientation. A battle of the sexes, ego drives, status and wounded pride are implied in much of the handling. E.g., "A philosophy of promiscuity has a self-protective function, in that it serves to keep any one person from becoming overly important in another's scheme of life."

The book, however, is better classed as social psychology—of sociologistic bent. Except for two apologetic references to sex "energy," no individual factors are mentioned, short of the possible exception of Jung's introvert-extrovert categories. Glands, metabolism, intelligence quotient, splanchnic-picnic types, and temperament are as absent as telluric factors in a social case history. The point perhaps ultimately redounds to the author's credit. He has abstracted very successfully a certain strata or aspect of his data and treated it significantly entirely at the social (and the socio-psychological) level. The social process is seen injecting itself into the individual himself: complex is apprehended as subjectivated mores, conflict as mutually exclusive "definitions of situation," ambivalence as contrary social-interaction-engendered attitudes, etc. This is illuminating and stimulating and there is a provoking earnest of a future synthesis of several fields implicit in such a treatment.

A dynamic or functional view of personality pervades the entire work. "After any crisis which produces a really fundamental change in the conditions of life, the problem of reintegration becomes acute. The old self will not do; it has committed suicide by producing a change in the environment of which it was a function, the milieu in adaptation to which it was forged. . . . The first mental conflicts of the divorcé represent the struggle of the self-that-was to go on functioning in the new conditions of life When the conditions of life are changed, personality must change; this is decreed by its very nature."

The book is admittedly subjective, the author believing that "only subjectivity can give real understanding of a problem that is so definitely of the inner essences of

personality." He has run the subjectivity hazard well; all of what he says is highly significant if true; most of it tends to gain one's assent; and little, if any, is demonstrably untrue.

The case method and its assumption of the ideal typical was the method used. The bulk of the material is case histories and their exposition. So successful an application of a pseudo-psychoanalytic technique of interview as was here used cannot be without importance for the future investigation of intimate topics.

The book is to be regarded as an important one in its field, deserving the attention of social workers, students of the family, of social psychology, and personality adjustment.

JAMES W. WOODARD.

University of Pennsylvania.

NEW BOOKS RECEIVED

- DYNAMITE (THE STORY OF CLASS VIOLENCE IN AMERICA).** By Louis Adamic. New York: The Viking Press, 1931. 452 pp. Illustrated. \$3.50.
- A HISTORY OF SOUTH AMERICA.** By Charles Edmond Akers. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1930 (Third Edition). 781 pp. Illustrated. \$5.00.
- ANIMAL AGGREGATIONS.** By W. C. Allee. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. 431 pp. \$5.00.
- INSTINCTS AND EMOTIONS.** By Roger W. Babson. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1927, 181 pp. \$2.00.
- THE EVERLASTING STRUGGLE.** By Johan Bojer. New York: Century, 1931. 347 pp. \$2.50.
- PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING IN CLEVELAND, 1895-1928.** By Irene M. Bower. Cleveland, Ohio: Western Reserve University, 1930. 120 pp. \$5.00.
- MARRIAGE AND THE CIVIC RIGHTS OF WOMEN.** By Sophonisba P. Breckenridge. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1931. 153 pp. \$2.00.
- THE STATE HIGHWAY SYSTEM OF NORTH CAROLINA.** By Cecil Kenneth Brown. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1931. 260 pp. \$2.50.
- MAORI WITCHERY.** By C. R. Browne. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1929. 209 pp. \$2.00.
- THE GOOD EARTH.** By Pearl S. Buck. New York: John Day Company, 1931. 375 pp.
- RUSSIA'S PRODUCTIVE SYSTEM.** By Emile Burns. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1930. 288 pp. \$4.00.
- LAW AND LITERATURE AND OTHER ESSAYS AND ADDRESSES.** By Benjamin N. Cardozo. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1931. 190 pp. \$2.75.
- THE COMING OF INDUSTRY TO THE SOUTH.** Edited by William J. Carson. Philadelphia: The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January, 1931. 296 pp. \$2.00.
- UNEMPLOYMENT AND ADULT EDUCATION.** A Symposium edited by Morse A. Cartwright. New York: American Assn. for Adult Education, 60 East 42d Street, 1931. 63 pp.
- POPULATION OF ALABAMA: AN ANALYSIS.** By H. H. Chapman. University, Alabama: Bureau of Business Research, School of Commerce and Business Administration, 1930. 40 pp. Mimeographed.
- ROUSSEAU: THE CHILD OF NATURE.** By John Charpentier. New York: The Dial Press, 1931. 303 pp. \$5.00.
- NONNULLA (MEMORIES, STORIES, TRADITIONS—MORE OR LESS AUTHENTIC ABOUT NORTH CAROLINA).** By Joseph Blount Cheshire. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930. 255 pp. \$4.00.

- STUDIES IN CHILD WELFARE (Second Series).** By Virginia Church, Laura Russell Archer, and others. Washington, D. C.: National Catholic School of Social Service, 1931. 44 pp.
- IF, OR HISTORY REWRITTEN.** By Winston Churchill, Andre Maurois, and others. New York: Viking Press, 1931. 379 pp. \$3.00.
- THE NAVAJO INDIANS.** By Mary Roberts Coolidge and Dane Coolidge. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1930. 316 pp. Illustrated. \$4.00.
- THE COMMONWEALTH FUND.** Twelfth Annual Report. For the Year Ending September 30, 1930. New York: 41 East Fifty-Seventh Street, February, 1931. 85 pp.
- LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES (Four volumes in one).** Selected, translated and annotated by G. G. Coulton. New York: Macmillan, 1930. 1014 pp. Illustrated. \$5.50.
- THE SOVIET CHALLENGE TO AMERICA.** By George S. Counts. New York: John Day, 1931. 372 pp.
- THE GENERAL STRIKE.** By Wilfred H. Crook. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1931. 649 pp. \$6.00.
- ZUNI FOLK TALES.** Collected and translated by Frank Hamilton Cushing. New York: Knopf, 1931. 474 pp. Illustrated.
- A STUDY IN PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION AT WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY.** By James Elbert Cutler and Maurice Rea Davie. Cleveland, Ohio: Western Reserve University Press, 1930. 208 pp.
- SONGS FOR THE SCHOOL YEAR.** (For Junior and Senior High Schools). Compiled by George S. Dare. Introduction by John M. Avent. New York: Barnes, 1931. 191 pp. Words and Music. \$1.20.
- NEGROES OF AFRICA.** By Maurice Delafosse. Tr. by F. Fligelman. Washington, D. C.: Associated Publishers, 1931. 313 pp. \$3.15.
- CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA RAILROAD.** By Samuel M. Derrick. Columbia, S. C.: The State Company, 1930. 335 pp. Illustrated.
- AFTER 2000 YEARS.** By G. Lowes Dickinson. New York: Norton, 1931. 213 pp. \$2.00.
- CORONADO'S CHILDREN (LOST MINES AND BURIED TREASURES OF THE SOUTHWEST).** By J. Frank Dobie. Dallas, Texas: The Southwest Press, 1930. 367 pp. Illustrated. \$3.00.
- STOCK WATERING.** By David L. Dodd. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. 333 pp. \$4.75.
- PREHISTORIC MAN.** By George S. Duncan. Boston: Stratford Company, 1931. 143 pp. \$1.50.
- LABOR AND TEXTILES.** By Robert W. Dunn and Jack Hardy. New York: International Publishers, 1931. 256 pp. Illustrated. \$2.00.
- THE NEGRO IN MODERN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY.** By Dean Dutcher. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Author, 1930. 137 pp.
- ROGER WILLIAMS: PROPHET AND PIONEER.** By Emily Easton. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930. 399 pp. \$5.00.
- PIATILETKA, RUSSIA'S FIVE-YEAR PLAN.** By Michael Farbman. New York: New Republic, 1931. 220 pp. \$1.00.
- THE QUEST FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE, 1898-1914.** By Harold Underwood Faulkner. New York: Macmillan, 1931. 390 pp. \$4.00.
- THE RUSSIAN EXPERIMENT.** By Arthur Feiler. Tr. by H. J. Stenning. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1930. 272 pp.
- RACIAL FACTORS IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY.** By Herman Feldman. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931. 318 pp. \$4.00.
- SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY.** By Joseph K. Folsom. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931. 701 pp. \$3.50.
- CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN VIRGINIA.** By Hugh N. Fuller and Others. New York: Century, 1931. 195 pp. \$2.25.
- RACE PSYCHOLOGY.** By Thomas Russell Garth. New York: Whittlesey House (McGraw-Hill), 1931. 260 pp. \$2.50.
- THE RÔLES OF MEN AND WOMEN IN ESKIMO CULTURE.** By Naomi M. Giffen. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. 113 pp. \$2.00.
- SOME BITING REMARKS (ABOUT YOU AND THE FOODS YOU EAT).** By Happy Goldsmith. New York: Barnes, 1931. 43 pp. Illustrated. \$75.
- ST. VITUS DAY.** By Stephen Graham. New York: Appleton, 1931. 349 pp. \$2.50.
- THE MAKING OF A LADY.** By Sara Haardt. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran, 1931. 306 pp. \$2.50.
- ARTISTS IN STRING.** By Kathleen Haddon. New York: Dutton, 1930. 174 pp. Diagrams. \$2.50.
- THE MENACE OF OVERPRODUCTION.** Ed. by Scoville Hamlin. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1930. 202 pp. \$2.75.
- MAKING BOLSHIEVICS.** By Samuel N. Harper. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. 167 pp. \$2.00.
- THE DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.** By Albert Theodore Helbing. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1931. 137 pp. \$1.25, paper.
- THE GENIUS OF MEXICO.** Lectures delivered before the Fifth Seminar in Mexico, 1930. Ed. by Hubert C. Herring and Katharine Terrill. New York: The Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, 112 East 19th Street, 1931. 334 pp.
- NEGRO.** By John Louis Hill. New York: Literary Associates Inc., 1930. 233 pp.
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- CRIPPLED CHILDREN IN MICHIGAN. By Lent D. Upson and Opal V. Matson. Detroit: Harold D. Emmons 3400 Union Guardian Building, 1931. 188 pp.
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THE SEARCH AFTER VALUES

THE 1931 NUMBER ON SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

M. J. KARPFF

The Training School for Jewish Social Work

THE papers and discussions in this issue which the Committee on Sociology and Social Work¹ again has the privilege of making available to readers of *SOCIAL FORCES* were presented in the meetings of the Section on Sociology and Social Work of the American Sociological Society, in December of 1930.

The meetings revolved about two major subjects, (1) Case Studies and Research; and (2) The Role of Culture in Delinquency.

I. "*Gestalt*" and Research. The first subject is dealt with in the paper by Mrs. Ada E. Sheffield on the "Situation As the Unit for Case Study." In this paper Mrs. Sheffield summarizes a point of view which she has been developing during the past few years relating to Gestalt psychology in its application to case study and social research. This subject will be more fully developed by her in a forthcoming book. Her present paper is an

elaboration of her discussion of a study of successful families presented at the meetings of this Section in 1929.²

It will be clear that Mrs. Sheffield's point of view has far-reaching implications, not only for case work but also for social research. It was deemed desirable, therefore, to explore them from the standpoints of both these fields. The contributions by Professors Rice, MacIver, Queen and Bruno will be found helpful to an examination of the importance of her contribution. Professor Rice deals with the subject from the standpoint of the statistician; Professor MacIver deals with it as a sociologist; Dr. Queen treats it from the standpoint of research on case records; Mr. Bruno deals with it from the viewpoints of the teacher and social worker. It is regretted that a contribution from Professor Ellsworth Faris of the University of Chicago, discussing Mrs. Sheffield's paper as a social psychologist, could not be ready in time for inclusion in this issue.

¹ The Committee consists of: F. J. Bruno, Washington University; F. S. Chapin, University of Minnesota; J. L. Gillin, University of Wisconsin; M. J. Karpf, Training School for Jewish Social Work, Chairman; E. L. Morgan, University of Missouri; Stuart A. Queen, University of Kansas; Syndor Walker, Rockefeller Foundation; Dale Yoder, University of Iowa.

² Chase Going Woodhouse, "A Study of 250 Successful Families," *SOCIAL FORCES*, VIII, June, 1930, p. 511. See also Ada E. Sheffield, "Conditioning Patterns in the Family Circle," *SOCIAL FORCES*, VIII, June, 1930, p. 533.

SOCIAL FORCES

CONTENTS FOR JUNE, 1931

CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES

	Page
"GESTALT" AND CASE STUDY:	
I. THE "SITUATION" AS THE UNIT OF FAMILY CASE STUDY Ada E. Sheffield	465
II. UNITS AND THEIR DEFINITION IN SOCIAL SCIENCE Stuart A. Rice	475
III. IS STATISTICAL METHODOLOGY APPLICABLE TO THE STUDY OF THE "SITUATION?".....Robert M. MacIver	479
IV. SOME PROBLEMS OF THE SITUATIONAL APPROACH Stuart A. Queen	480
V. THE SITUATIONAL APPROACH—A REACTION TO IN- DIVIDUALISM.....Frank J. Bruno	482
CULTURE CONFLICT AND DELINQUENCY:	
I. CULTURE CONFLICT AND MISCONDUCT.....Louis Wirth	484
II. CULTURE CONFLICT VERSUS THE INDIVIDUAL AS FAC- TORS IN DELINQUENCY.....Floyd H. Allport	493
III. CULTURE CONFLICT AND PHYSICAL INADEQUACY AS BASES FOR MISCONDUCT.....T. Wingate Todd	497

DEPARTMENTAL CONTRIBUTIONS

PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK.....	500
The Relation of Sociology to Social Work—Historically Con- sidered, <i>Earl E. Klein</i> ; Shifting Emphases in Case Work: The Sociological Viewpoint, <i>Ernest Bouldin Harper</i> ; The Relation of Private Case Working Agencies to Programs of Public Welfare, <i>Leah H. Feder</i> .	
COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD.....	526
Social Settlements and the Trend toward Specialization, <i>Helen Hart</i> ; The Trend of Settlement Activities toward School Use, <i>Clark Mock</i> ; The District Service Plan: An Experiment in the Democratization of Philanthropy, <i>N. ben Nathan</i> ; Bloomington- Normal: A Study in Community Integration, <i>John A. Kinneman</i> ; The Sociology of City Missions, <i>Samuel Haig Jameson</i> .	
MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY.....	554
Some Psychiatric Views on Maladjustments in Marriage, <i>George K. Pratt</i> ; The Relation of Parental Dominance to Parent-Child Conflict, <i>Meyer F. Nimkoff</i> ; The Chinese Family: An Arena of Conflicting Cultures, <i>Jane I. Newell</i> .	
SOCIAL-INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS.....	572
Technological Unemployment, <i>R. Clyde White</i> ; How the Com- munity is Organized in the Face of Pressing Relief Problems, <i>James P. Kirby</i> .	
LIBRARY AND WORKSHOP.....	585
Book Reviews, <i>Frank H. Hankins</i> , <i>Ernest R. Groves</i> , <i>Wiley B. Sanders</i> , <i>Lee M. Brooks</i> , <i>L. L. and J. S. Bernard</i> , <i>Gladys Hoagland Groves</i> , <i>Gertrude Vaile</i> , <i>Katharine Jocher</i> , <i>Miriam Keeler</i> , <i>Holland Thompson</i> , <i>Clarence Heer</i> , <i>Harry W. Crane</i> , <i>James W. Woodard</i> . New Books Received.	
THE SEARCH AFTER VALUES.....	M. J. Karpf ii

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It is hoped that it will be published in a subsequent number of *SOCIAL FORCES*.³

II. *Culture Conflict and Delinquency*. The subject of Dr. Wirth's paper, "Culture Conflict and Misconduct," is one in which he has been interested for many years. The present paper is based on a more extensive study of the subject on the basis of case records some years ago.⁴ This, too, is a fruitful subject and one close to the interests of sociologists and social workers. Those who were present at the meeting in which this paper was presented will recall that the discussions dealt with the subject from various standpoints. Professor Allport of Syracuse University spoke as a psychologist and as a long time opponent of the group concept and all that it implies including the cultural approach to the analysis and treatment of behavior problems. Sociologists and social workers alike should find his paper stimulating, although they will no doubt have a great deal with which to differ. Professor Todd spoke as a physician and physical anthropologist. Two additional papers, one by Professor Edward Sapir, who discussed the subject from the standpoint of a cultural anthropologist, and one by Dr. John Slawson, who dealt with it as a student of delinquency, could not be included in this series. It is hoped that they will be pub-

lished in a subsequent issue of *SOCIAL FORCES*.

The relation between culture conflict and delinquency should prove fruitful for further research and discussion. The writer hopes that those who have been working along these lines will communicate with him with a view toward presenting their studies in future programs of this section.

III. *Miscellanea*.⁵ The other papers in this issue were included because they have a bearing on the interests of the Section on Sociology and Social Work. The article by Earl E. Klein on Sociology and Social Work is a summary of a larger study which he made, dealing with this subject. In this, he carried out in considerable detail and in a painstaking manner an inquiry similar to that outlined in *SOCIAL FORCES* some years ago.⁶ This should be of special interest to those interested in the historical development between sociology and social work. His larger study may be found in the Department of Sociology of Washington University. The other papers and book reviews to be found in this issue carry out the usual organization of the materials in *SOCIAL FORCES* and are in harmony with the general theme of this number dealing with Sociology and Social Work.

³ For a summary of a session led by Ralph G. Hurlin of the Russell Sage Foundation, on "The Teaching of Social Statistics to Prospective Social Workers," see "Teaching Statistics to Prospective Social Workers," *Proc. of Amer. Stat. Assoc.*, March, 1931, p. 263.

³ For a summary of this discussion see "The Fourth Annual Meeting of the Section on Sociology and Social Work," by M. J. Karpf, *Publications of the Amer. Soc. Society*, XXIV, 1931.

⁴ Louis Wirth. *Culture Conflicts in the Immigrant Family*, Master's Thesis, University of Chicago, 1925.

⁶ Sociology and Social Work: A Retrospect, *SOCIAL FORCES*, VI, June, 1928, p. 511.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK AND
ASSOCIATED GROUPS, MINNEAPOLIS, 1931

THE fifty-eighth annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work will be held in Minneapolis, Minnesota, June 14 to 20, 1931. Hotel headquarters will be the Nicollet with Conference headquarters at the Minneapolis Auditorium. Associate and special groups include: American Association of Hospital Social Workers, American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers, American Association of Social Workers, American Association of Visiting Teachers, American Birth Control League, American Red Cross, American Social Hygiene Association, Association of Community Chests and Councils, Association of Schools of Professional Social Work, Big Brother and Big Sister Federation, Child Welfare League of America, Church Conference of Social Work of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Committee on Relations with Social Agencies of the National Association of Legal Aid Organizations, Family Welfare Association of America, Girls Protective Council, Home Economists in Social Work, Inter-City Conference on Illegitimacy, International Association of Police Women, Mothers Aid Group, National Association of Travelers Aid Societies, National Child Labor Committee, National Community Center Association, National Conference of Jewish Social Service, National Federation of Day Nurseries, National Probation Association, National Tuberculosis Association, Social Work Publicity Council, State Conference Secretaries, American Association of Public Welfare Officials, American Foundation for the Blind, Child Welfare Division of the American Legion, Committee on the Handicapped, Minnesota State Conference of Social Work,

National Bureau of Goodwill Industries, National Children's Home and Welfare Association, National Council of Young Men's Christian Association, Norwegian Lutheran Church of America Board of Charities. These groups will have headquarters either in the Hotel Nicollet or in nearby hotels. Frank T. Heffelfinger is chairman of the Minneapolis Committee on Arrangements, and hotel reservations are in charge of Henry Chadbourn, chairman of Hotels and Housing, Hotel Vendome, Minneapolis.

The address by Dr. Richard C. Cabot, President of the Conference, on "The Needs for Tests for the Values of Social Treatment" will mark the formal opening of the Conference on Sunday night, June 14. Other general sessions include "The Costs of Medical Care" by Dr. Michael M. Davis; "Racial Contributions to American Culture," Hastings H. Hart; "The Resources of the Social Worker," Mrs. John M. Glenn. The twelve divisions of the Conference with their chairmen are: "Children," Katharine F. Lenroot; "Delinquents and Corrections," Miriam Van Waters; "Health," Robert W. Kelso; "The Family," Paul L. Benjamin; "Industrial and Economic Problems," Frederic Seidenburg; "Neighborhood and Community Life," Robbins Gilman; "Mental Hygiene," E. Van Norman Emery; "Organization of Social Forces," Raymond Clapp; "Public Officials and Administration," Leroy A. Halbert; "The Immigrant," Marian Schibbsby; "Professional Standards and Education," Joanna C. Colcord; "Educational Publicity," Leon Whipple. There is also a special committee on the American Indian with Lewis Meriam as chairman.

- OUR AMERICAN MUSIC. By John Tasker Howard. New York: Crowell, 1931. 713 pp. Illustrated. \$6.00.
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